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The Mysterious Gas of the New Jersey Lakes

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ANYONE who has canoed on one of the placid, shallow pine lakes of New Jersey and jabbed a paddle into the soft, vegetatious bottom has seen bubbles of marsh gas bob to the surface. Marsh gas is chiefly a simple organic compound called methane, composed of carbon and hydrogen, and is formed by the decomposition of dead leaves and plants buried under water. If a quantity of the gas is collected by displacing water in a vessel with a spout—as can be done by anyone who has studied chemistry—and the gas is forced through the spout and ignited, it burns with a quiet, blue flame, like cooking and illuminating gas. But if marsh gas is collected in a vessel containing air and is then ignited, the mixture burns so rapidly that it explodes with a faint "pop." Today every high school chemistry student understands what marsh gas is and how it is formed, but not so long ago the nature of the gas and the manner of its creation were mysteries to educated men.

Almost two centuries ago the gas of the New Jersey lakes attracted and puzzled three great Americans, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Thomas Paine. Franklin and Paine both speculated about the source of the gas and both thought it was responsible in some way for the fevers which attacked people living near water. Washington's opinions we do not know, since

his companion Paine did not jot them down, but his actions were nevertheless interesting because they displayed a scientific curiosity which we seldom associate with this man.

Franklin heard of marsh gas when he was journeying acros Jersey in 1764, but he seems not to have mentioned it until Joseph Priestley, the great English chemist, jogged his memory ten years later. Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, was at this time preparing a book on gases and he discussed the subject with Franklin, who was then in London. Franklin's account of the Jersey gas so intrigued Priestley that he inserted a letter which Franklin wrote him in his book, *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Airs.** The letter gave Franklin's ideas concerning the gas, and also the news that the president of the College of New Jersey had told the Royal Society, the greatest scientific society in the world, about the phenomenon:

Dear Sir,

In compliance with your request, I have endeavoured to recollect the circumstances of the American experiments I formerly mentioned to you, of raising a flame on the surface of some water there.

When I passed through New Jersey in 1764, I heard it several times mentioned, that by applying a lighted candle near the surface of some of their rivers, a sudden flame would catch and spread on the water, continuing to burn for near half a minute. But the accounts I received were so imperfect that I could form no guess at the cause of such an effect, and rather doubted the truth of it. I had no opportunity of seeing the experiment; but calling to see a friend who happened to be just returned home from making it himself, I learned from him the manner of it; which was to choose a shallow place, where the bottom could be reached by a walking-stick, and was muddy; the mud was first to be stirred with the stick, and when a number of small bubbles began to arise from it, the candle was applied. The flame was so sudden and strong, that it catched his ruffle and spoiled it, as I saw. New Jersey, having many pine-trees in different parts of it, I then imagined that something like a volatile oil of turpentine might be mixed with the waters from a pine-swamp, but this supposition did not quite satisfy me. I mentioned the fact to some philosophical friends on my return to England, but it was not much attended to. I suppose I was thought a little too credulous.

**Experiments and Observations* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1775), pp. 321-23. The letter appeared also in the first edition. It was reprinted in various editions of Franklin's writings, as *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Phila., 1809, published by William Duane), III, 322-24.

In 1765, the Reverend Dr. Chandler received a letter from Dr. Finley, President of the College in that province, relating the same experiment. It was read at the Royal Society, Nov. 21. of that year, but not printed in the Transactions; perhaps because it was thought too strange to be true, and some ridicule might be apprehended if any member should attempt to repeat it in order to ascertain or refute it. The following is a copy of that account.

"A worthy gentlemen, who lives a few miles distance, informed me that in a certain small cove of a mill-pond, near his house, he was surprised to see the surface of the water blaze like inflamed spirits. I soon after went to the place, and made the experiment with the same success. The bottom of the creek was muddy, and when stirred up, so as to cause a considerable curl on the surface, and a lighted candle held within two or three inches of it, the whole surface was in a blaze, as instantly as the vapour of warm inflammable spirits, and continued, when strongly agitated, for the space of several seconds. It was at first imagined to be peculiar to that place; but upon trial it was soon found, that such a bottom in other places exhibited the same phenomenon. The discovery was accidentally made by one belonging to the mill."

I have tried the experiment twice here in England, but without success. The first was in a slow running water with a muddy bottom. The second in a stagnant water at the bottom of a deep ditch. Being some time employed in stirring this water, I ascribed an intermitting fever, which seized me a few days after, to my breathing too much of that foul air which I stirred up from the bottom, and which I could not avoid while I stooped in endeavouring to kindle it. The discoveries you have lately made of the manner in which inflammable air is in some cases produced, may throw light on this experiment, and explain its succeeding in some cases, and not in others. With the highest esteem and respect,

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. Franklin.

As we have said, men at this time did not know how marsh gas was formed and Franklin's hypothesis seemed plausible. Yet, even as he admitted, it was unsatisfactory. How did the oil get from trees to the water? Why could not the oil be seen or smelled or collected from the surface or the bottom? Questions of this nature Franklin's theory could not answer.

On the same pond, perhaps, that Dr. Finley mentioned to the Royal Society, George Washington and members of his staff hunted the gas during the Revolution. It happened in 1783 when

Washington camped at Rocky Hill and heard the tale from the natives. The commander-in-chief became so curious that he went out on the pound to see the phenomenon. Two decades later Thomas Paine recalled the episode in his essay, "The Cause of Yellow Fever and the Means of Preventing It in Places Not Yet Infected with It."*

In the fall of the year that New York was evacuated (1783), General Washington had his headquarters at Mrs. Berrian's, at Rocky Hill, in Jersey, and I was there. The Congress then sat at Prince Town [Princeton]. We had several times been told that the river or creek that runs near the bottom of Rocky Hill, and over which there is a mill, might be set on fire, for that was the term the country people used, and as General Washington had a mind to try the experiment, General Lincoln, who was also there, undertook to make preparation for it against the next evening, November fifth. This was to be done, as we were told, by disturbing the mud at the bottom of the river, and holding something in a blaze, as paper or straw, a little above the surface of the water.

Colonels Humphreys and Cobb were at that time aides-de-camp of General Washington, and these two gentlemen and myself got into an argument respecting the cause. Their opinion was that, on disturbing the bottom of the river, some bituminous matter arose to the surface, which took fire when light was put to it; I, on the contrary, supposed that a quantity of inflammable air was let loose, which ascended through the water and took fire above the surface. Each party held to his opinion, and the next evening the experiment was to be made.

A scow had been stationed in the mill dam, and General Washington, General Lincoln, and myself, and I believe Colonel Cobb (for Humphreys was sick), and three or four soldiers with poles, were put on board the scow. General Washington placed himself at one end of the scow and I at the other; each of us had a roll of cartridge paper, which we lighted and held over the water, about two or three inches from the surface when the soldiers began disturbing the bottom of the river with the poles.

As General Washington sat at one end of the scow and I at the other, I could see better anything that might happen from his light, than I could from my own, over which I was nearly perpendicular. When the mud at the bottom was disturbed by the poles, the air bubbles rose fast, and I saw the fire take from General Washington's light, and descend from thence to the surface of the water, in a similiar manner as when a lighted candle is held so as to touch the smoke of a candle just blown out the smoke will

*The essay, written in 1806, may be found in any collection of Paine's works. I have followed *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, edited by Philip S. Foner (New York, 1945), II, 1060-66.

take fire and the fire will descend and light up the candle. This was demonstrative evidence that what was called setting the river on fire was setting the inflammable air on fire that arose out of the mud.

Paine told this story to lend credence to his theory that a gas could be formed by combustible matter decomposing under water, this being the basis of his theory that yellow fever was caused by a miasma arising from the bottoms of polluted rivers. Paine did not know, of course, that yellow fever was transmitted by the Anopheles mosquito, a fact which lay undiscovered until the end of the nineteenth century.

To this day, Jersey boys delight in poking the muck on the bottoms of ponds to see bubbles of gas break the surface, and some who have heard of the trick ignite the bubbles with a burning match. But none of them knows that he is watching a phenomenon that fascinated some of his most illustrious countrymen almost two hundred years ago.

Jeffersonian Democracy and the Federalist Dilemma in New Jersey 1798-1812

J. R. POLE

IN 1800 the Democratic Republican party of New Jersey surprised its Federalist opponents by winning every seat allotted to the state in the congressional election.[1] The surprise was the more painful since the Federalists had lately changed the election laws in what they imagined would be their own favor.[2] In a series of state elections, hotly contested for a few years, the Republicans then gained an ascendancy that lasted, with two short breaks, until the era of Jacksonian politics.

The activity of the Jeffersonians, beginning about 1798 with the efforts of their leaders in the Assembly to create electoral districts that would ensure their own election to Congress, followed by the struggle of the Federalists both to regain power and to adapt themselves to political contests of a new character, brought into the open all the important problems of representative government that affected the state between the Revolution and the rise of Jackson. The people of the state were encouraged by both parties to go to the polls in numbers that quite disregarded the nominal limitations of the suffrage. The rival parties exerted their influence on elections by means of a newly developed system of nomination and a closely related campaign machinery; and both used occasional majorities in the legislature to attempt the manipulation of political boundaries to their own permanent advantage. The Republicans applied themselves energetically to working out new techniques and to turning their devices invented to win elections into permanent instruments of party organization. The Federalists were much less flexible. They never

[1] *Trenton Federalist & New Jersey Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1801.

[2] N. J. *Laws* (session laws) to be cited as *NJL*, 25th sess., 1st sit., pp. 4-6. This act is not mentioned in Hood's generally reliable *Index of the Laws of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1877).

wholly overcame their repugnance to the notion of permanent political organization as accepted by the Republicans; and their failure at the polls was largely due to their inability to solve the problems set by the initiative and tactics of their opponents.

In order to exercise the right of suffrage in this period, the white man of full age had, in the ordinary course of electoral events, merely to claim it. And it cannot be too strongly emphasized that in New Jersey (to say nothing for the moment of other states which await investigation) this wide franchise existed before the rise of fully organized political parties.[3] Political parties therefore had no need to concern themselves either with defending the entrenched rights of property by maintaining suffrage restrictions, on the one hand, or with extending the basis of representation on the other. The existence of a wide suffrage could be assumed. The concern of political leadership was to get the voters to the polls, and to arrange both the elections laws in their numerous technical details, and the electoral districts, to party advantage, and even to the advantage of individuals.

The federal Constitution created a novel political situation within the state. The voters had hitherto been entitled to vote only within their counties, while the members of Congress had been appointed by the legislature. Now, for the first time, the voters were called upon to cast their ballots in a state-wide

[3]In 1800 and in 1808, approximately seventy per cent of the adult white male population voted in congressional elections.—*Federalist,* Jan. 6, 1801; Minutes of the Governor's Privy Council, bound MS, NJSL, vol. 2, pp. 52-53. In some of the counties even higher proportions were registered, in several cases with the help of copious frauds. One hundred per cent or more seem to have voted in Essex County in the congressional election of 1800, presumably including a number of women and Negroes, who were voting intermittently in that period.—*Ibid.,* Jan. 6, 1801. A figure of eighty-five per cent was recorded in the legislative elections in Essex in 1806, and of seventy-four per cent in 1808.—*New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 21, 1806; Oct. 18 and Nov. 8, 1808. Hunterdon registered sixty-six per cent in 1800, the highest vote being cast for the sheriff; eighty-five per cent in 1801, and with the aid of frauds, ninety-five per cent and over one hundred per cent in 1802 and 1803.—Trenton *State Gazette,* Oct. 21, 1800; *Federalist,* Oct. 27, 1801; *Federalist,* Oct. 18, 1802, Oct. 24, 1803. The federal censuses for 1790 and 1800 have been used to ascertain population figures, and Dr. George Stolnitz, of the Office of Population Research, Princeton University, calculated for me the total numbers of white males in each county. It may be estimated that the adult white males amount to about one-fifth of the total population in this period. Similar conclusions may be found in R. P. McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1953), pp. 119-21.

congressional election, and the new arrangements called for a unified method of nomination. It was decided that nominations should be handed to the county clerks at least thirty days in advance, while each qualified voter might nominate up to four candidates to fill the four seats in Congress.[4]

This system of nomination, adopted in 1788, was varied only slightly from one congressional election to another. The official lists of candidates having been duly published by the governor, were posted by township or county clerks, depending on whether the election was held in the township or was still held in the county courthouses and adjourned from place to place about the county.

While the voters continued to travel to the county courthouse to give their votes, the need for advance nominations was confined to congressional elections; but upon the institution of the township polling system, itself a material reform in the franchise system, the people could no longer collect in one place at the beginning of the election; advance nominations thus became necessary for the local and state elections as well as for those to Congress. Lists of the candidates had therefore to be distributed to each township. This township system was imposed throughout the state in 1797.[5] Unfortunately for the historian the demand, although exciting considerable local interest, failed to attract the attention of editors.[6]

The general township law of 1797 covered all elections to state and county offices. The inhabitants of each township were

[4]*NJL*, 13th sess., 1st sit., p. 497. Official nomination lists are to be found, published before elections over the governor's signature in the leading state newspapers. This conformed with the acts of 15th sess., 1st sit., pp. 699-701 onwards. Nomination lists are also preserved among the broadsides in Rutgers University Library.

[5]The demand for township polling had never amounted to a systematic statewide movement, but had been advanced piecemeal in a number of counties and had been satisfied, for purposes of congressional elections, in seven of the thirteen counties in 1794. *NJL*, 19 sess., 1 sit., pp. 928-31.

[6]A petition signed by nearly nine hundred persons in Essex County in 1795, complained: "The electors being thus confined, subjects many of them to great inconvenience and totally prevents a greater number of them from attending the election"; disputes, broils and animosities arose from collecting the people together from one end of the county to the other; "and your petitioners are of opinion that if the elections in this county were to be holden separately, in each township, it would prevent many, if not all the evils, above mentioned, and also would be attended with much less expence . . . "—AM papers 1131, NJSL.

to appoint not more than two places for holding elections.[7] The system was extended to congressional elections in 1798.[8] One year later a general law designated and incorporated all the townships in the state and laid down the voting qualifications for town elections. The full number of townships incorporated by this act was 104, giving the people a possible total of 208 voting places throughout the state for all local and congressional elections. The tenant of a rented tenement costing no more than five dollars a year, or any township taxpayer, might vote for town officers.[9]

These laws were framed to meet the legitimate demands of the time and were not the product of party strife; subsequent election laws were not to be so free from the imprint of political ambitions. The rival parties, stirred by the controversies of the Adams administration, organized to contest both state and Federal elections. The campaigns of 1799 and 1800 furnished evidence of the methods preferred by each and of the character and extent of party propaganda. The institution of party machinery, and the electioneering techniques, resulted from the recognition that a party, in order to elect its candidates, must first gain an advantage over rival candidates at the stage of nomination.

It was characteristic of the developing struggle that the Republicans were the more active of the two parties. In October, 1799, in Morris and Essex counties they met first in townships and then at the county level. Tickets were drawn up in preparation for the state elections.[10] The same system operated in the following year in preparation for the congressional election. In December, 1800, the township committees of Essex sent delegates to a county meeting. This meeting agreed on a congression-

[7] *NJL*, 21 sess., 2 sit., pp. 171-79.

[8] *NJL*, 22 sess., 2 sit., pp. 310-12.

[9] *NJL*, 22 sess., 2 sit., pp. 289-302. Taxpayer suffrage of any sort had first been introduced in township elections in 1790.—*NJL*, 15 sess., 1 sit., pp. 676-77. This principle was gradually absorbed into the electoral system, to be established by law for all elections in 1807—though payment of township taxes did not qualify for voting in state elections.—*NJL*, 32 sess., 1 sit., pp. 14-15. There is a succinct summary of the township voting movement and its importance in McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, pp. 94-96.

[10] *New Jersey Journal*, Oct. 1, 1799; *Centinel of Freedom*, Oct. 8, 1799.

al ticket and published an address in its own defence and in sturdy denunciation of the Federalists.[11]

The Federalists, oddly enough, were the first to hold a central meeting for the whole state, doing so on November 13th, 1800;[12] but the Republicans responded almost immediately, though three counties failed to be represented in their convention.[13] For both Federalists and Republicans, the methods of party organization open to politicians were limited by the difficulties of communication, by illiteracy, by apathy and by the genuine preoccupation of the greater part of the working population in agriculture and further by certain notions, soon to become obsolete, of political propriety. The major alternative methods were developed and exemplified by the two parties. The Republicans worked both in the townships and at the county level, the township committees meeting first and sending delegates to the county conventions,[14] while county clubs perpetuated a skeleton organization in the intervals between elections. The Federalists entertained a deep and abiding hostility to the whole notion of permanent political associations. They believed that the Whisky Rebellion had been instigated by the early democratic societies of Pennsylvania, a suspicion that gained so much weight from the proclamation of President Washington's own opinion,[15] that the societies found themselves obliged to publish disclaimers.[16] But it was not merely the democratic clubs, but the principle of organization for political ends that the Federalists opposed, and their opposition constrained them to prefer campaign methods less highly systematized than those of the Republicans. The

[11]*Newark Gazette,* Dec. 16, 1800.

[12]An informal caucus had been held in Trenton by the Federalists in 1796, while the Republicans made their nominations at a meeting in Newark. McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey,* p. 111, n. 74.

[13]George Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery in the United States* (Phila., 1903), p. 137.

[14]Every election campaign from about 1799 onwards brought many newspaper notices of such township and county meetings. The Trenton *True American* was founded as a Republican journal in 1801; in Essex County, the *Centinel of Freedom* (founded 1796) and the *New Jersey Journal* (founded 1786) were of Republican sympathy, the former from its inception and the latter towards the end of the Adams administration.

[15]George Washington, *Writings* (1940), XXXIV, 29. The denunciation was contained in his sixth annual message.

[16]W. R. Fee, *The Transition from Aristocracy to Democracy in New Jersey, 1789-1829* (Somerville, N.J., 1929), pp. 46-49.

alternative to the Republican method was that of working downwards from the state to the county and township, advising or instructing the townships instead of acting on their initiative. This way was closer to Federalist desires, closer, perhaps, to their conception of authority.

Records of the Federalist methods survive, for the campaign of 1800, for Burlington County, where a committee, "appointed at the Court-house," met at the end of August to draft a legislative ticket. On behalf of the committee three members addressed to the Federal Republicans of their county a pamphlet of thirty-six pages in support of John Adams for President and of Richard Howell, the Federalist incumbent, for governor.[17] Preparation was made for the congressional election by a meeting at the State House, Trenton on November 13th at which it was resolved to promote the election of a ticket consisting of Aaron Ogden, William Coxe, junior, James H. Imlay, Franklin Davenport, and Peter D. Vroom.[18] The Federalist press claimed that the meeting was composed of men of influence and reputation from every county, in and out of the legislature—one could not expect a fuller representation of the Federalist interest.[19] The meeting adopted a resolution recommending the counties to take early measures to support the Federal ticket, by conveying information and refuting false Republican statements. A committee of thirteen, one from each county, was appointed to draft an address which, when it appeared, denounced the Republicans as abusers of government, and made a point of attacking "the use of *clubs* and *associations*." The people were reminded that they had voted Federalist at six elections and they were called on to do so again. The four columns of print contained little serious analysis of the matters at issue in the election.[20]

There is no indication of the means by which the members of this meeting were chosen. The address itself was also published as a broadside in which it was stated that the committee had been appointed at the state house "by a large and respectable

[17]The meeting was held on August 30th; the pamphlet itself is undated.
[18]*Newark Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1800.
[19]*Federalist*, Nov. 25, 1800.
[20]*Newark Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1800.

meeting of persons from every county."[21] Some of the members were evidently members of the legislature, and it seems likely that many of the rest were lawyers and other professional men in Trenton. The Republicans made a point of the fact that their committees rose in a pyramid from the townships;[22] the Federalists were content to say that all the counties were represented, and that there could not have been a fuller representation of the Federalist interest. The persons who took it upon themselves to choose the Federalist ticket were evidently not the common people called to a public meeting, but the leading citizens, men of some substance. A dispute within the Federalist party in Somerset County in 1811 brought from the county committee a public statement from which it appeared that, "for years past," a number of the principal inhabitants had been in the custom of meeting in some central part of the county "to fix on such a ticket as they thought would best promote the public interest and meet the wishes of the major part of the County." The opposition to the committee was led by Jacob R. Hardenbergh, who insisted on putting up his own ticket, as distinct from that offered by the county meeting; and he had circulated notices calling for township meetings, with his own ticket printed on the backs of the bills.[23] The arrangement of the ticket by the principal inhabitants was very largely a private affair; Hardenbergh's call for township meetings must have been unconventional in Federalist circles, or the committee would certainly not have failed to state that its own authority was derived from the townships.

It is clear that the township and county basis of party organization developed by the Republicans in these early phases was broader than that of the Federalists. The Federalists of Gloucester County, in 1803, took the unusual step of forming a county Federal association; and the unhappy history of this association

[21]RUL.

[22]See p. 7, note 1. Newspaper notices played a far more active part in the Republicans' methods than in those of the Federalists. Information was circulated and interest in the election was stirred and maintained by the press.

[23]Broadsides, RUL. Hardenbergh's reply is in the same collection. The committee stated that as he was president of a bank, if he prevailed the Democrats would say that they were ruled by the bank interest.

throws light on the difficulties encountered by the Federalists as a result of their own ideas of the proper limits of political organization. In the first place the county, for them, was primary, the township secondary; at the county meeting, three citizens were appointed as a committe for each township; although the county meeting could hardly, in the first instance, be as representative of popular sentiment as those of the townships.[24] The county committee charged its township committees "to endeavor to obtain an accurate list of all voters in their respective townships, male and female, and designate them by proper marks opposite their names as Federalists or otherwise . . ." The corresponding committees of the three nearby counties of Cape May, Cumberland, and Salem were to be approached by representatives of the Gloucester committee. But the reaction of the neighboring Federalist counties indicates the austerity of the general view of that party on the subject of permanent organizations. The Salem Federalists, meeting in the following October on a county basis, protested against the actions of "an organized faction," which under the name of Democratic associations, presumed by means of standing committees in townships to dictate the choice by the freemen of their representative county and township officers. This "barefaced usurpation" was an encroachment upon the right of free and independent elections. The Burlington County Federalists, presenting their ticket at the same election, declared: "We pretend to no authority; and hold it presumptuous, as well as unlawful, to enter into Standing Associations." As to nominations, they said: "On the day, and at the place appointed by law, a great number of us met, and, exercising the right of nomination, have agreed to support that ticket and respectfully recommend it to our fellow citizens."[25]

No such horror of standing political associations inhibited the Republicans from developing permanent party organizations in

[24]This point is well made by Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery*, pp. 89-92. He calls the county meeting a "mass meeting," which seems to be an emotive designation of a meeting open to the public. It was not necessarily massive in size. It will be more correct to use the term "public meeting." Anyone may call a mass meeting; but the call may go unanswered.

[25]Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery*, pp. 92-93, citing *True American*, Feb. 7, 1803; *Federalist*, Sept. 19 and Oct. 3, 1803.

the counties. The controversies of Jefferson's first presidency probably contributed more to the rivalries and growth of party organization than did any question of internal state politics; but a disputed election in Hunterdon County in 1802 was a factor in moving the Republicans of that county to found "An Association for the preservation of our elective rights and for the support of the government of the State and of the United States." The rules stated that the associators of the respective townships were to assemble twice a year, while a standing committee of the several townships would meet annually. The chairmen of the township committees were to form a committee of correspondence, to meet four times a year to confer on measures necessary to promote the objects of the association. They would also correspond with other county associations and with individuals. Burlington and Cape May followed suit soon afterwards. In the election of 1803, this Republican machinery was put into motion, and the pyramid structure built up from township to county and from county to state became the usual (though not the invariable) Democratic-Republican structure. Although the proposal of the Gloucester Federalist Association to approach the corresponding committees of neighboring counties indicates that such committees existed within the Federalist ranks, the Federalists confined their organization mainly to the immediate purpose of the election campaign.[26]

By 1804, the Republicans had developed a highly articulated system of nomination; it now covered the selection of congressional candidates and, since the Republicans' law of 1804 had opened the choice of presidential electors to the popular vote,[27] those of the electors in addition. In Middlesex, the Republican delegates from the several townships in the county chose seven delegates to a state convention to be held in October; in Burlington, the same task was performed by the annual meeting of the Democratic associators, the meeting was also being opened to Republican citizens who were not members; and in several other counties the Republican electors at large met to appoint delegates. The delegates who came together for the state convention on

[26]Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery*, pp. 88-94.
[27]*NJL*, 28 sess., 2 sit., pp. 310-15.

October 23 represented a formidably organized political machine and it is no surprise that the Federalists, with their antipathy to permanent party organization, their resentment of electioneering and their increasing loss of touch with the populace, should have gone down to defeat.[28]

The county conventions and meetings thus came into existence in connection with the problem of nomination. When a party issued its own ticket, it could not, of course, prevent private citizens from making their separate nominations; but a group of candidates standing on a single ticket, and known to be the nominees of their party, would stand a much greater chance of success than the scattered nominees of private individuals, even though the party machine could not expect to make its own nominees the only legal candidates. The methods of nomination varied, and it would be wrong to suppose that, once the party convention had been invented, it became the invariable practice; it would be equally wrong to attribute to the Republican machinery a purity of democratic process entirely denied by the Federalists. In less than twenty years, the Republican nominating machinery became rigid and exclusive, leading by 1819 to denunciations of the caucus that had come to govern the party.[29]

The result of all this activity was highly rewarding to the Republicans of New Jersey. As early as 1798, three of their five candidates were elected to Congress,[30] while the entire Republican ticket was elected for the first time in 1800.[31] Joseph Bloomfield, the Republican candidate, was elected governor in 1801, and after a deadlock which prevented the election of a governor in 1802, the Republicans continued in power, with the sole exception of the year 1812, until the Federalist party had disappeared.[32]

There was, perhaps, a certain rudimentary purity about the system in which any voter might nominate candidates on the

[28]This account depends upon Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery*, pp. 139-40.
[29]*True American*, Jan. 18, 1818; Oct. 11, 1819.
[30]*Federalist*, Nov. 19, 1798.
[31]*Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1801.
[32]*Minutes of the Joint Meeting* (N.J. legislature), 1801-12; L. Q. C. Elmer, *Constitution and Government of New Jersey, with Reminiscences of Bench and Bar* (Newark, 1872), pp. 151-52.

very day of election, so that, even if a ticket had been prepared in advance by a political group, the voters would not be officially apprised of the choice before them until they read the lists pinned to the door of the polling place. Paradoxically, it was the measure that made the suffrage effective by the bringing of the poll to the township, that also made necessary the system of advance nominations for state elections, and so paved the way for the establishment of a party machinery whose very purpose was to narrow the electors' choice and ensure control by the party managers. The managers, it is true, worked through a fairly widespread system of popular participation and agreement; but it has been noticed that less than twenty years later, the system had so hardened that popular participation dwindled, and the Republican Associators were asked to do little more than assent to the choice of the caucus.

It would be a mistake, however, in preoccupation with the mechanics of party organization, to overlook what may be called the substantive element in the growth of Democratic Republicanism. In addition to their familiar supporters among the small farmers, to whom the New Jersey Republicans appealed conscientiously,[33] other factors favored them in the election of 1800. One of these was the adherence of some of the artisans and poorer classes,[34] and another was the fact that certain old Federalists switched their support to Jefferson's side.[35] Joseph Bloomfield, who won the governership as a Republican in 1801, had joined in an address praising President Adams on July 4, 1798. This change in the allegiance of some of the Federalist leaders is to be accounted for in part by the decline of unquestioning loyalty to the government after the departure of Washington, and still more by the reaction against the alien and sedition laws.[36]

[33]A Federalist writer, considering the reasons for the Republican success of 1800 fifteen months later, noted that they had exerted themselves to spread news and distribute papers among the farmers.—*The Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser,* March 18, 1802. In preparation for the congressional election of 1800, the Republican convention adopted an address which declared that its candidates were farmers who had served with reputation in the legislature.—*Centinel of Freedom,* Dec. 9, 1800.

[34]Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1936), esp. pp. 382-87.

[35]Charles Pinckney was an important case in South Carolina. Beard, *Economic Origins,* pp. 373-75.

[36]Elmer, *Constitution and Government of New Jersey,* pp. 124-34.

The Jeffersonians certainly did not sweep New Jersey in one surge of Democratic sentiment. The elections were hotly contested for several years, and, in the congressional election of 1800, the leading Republican candidate got 14,726 votes, the leading Federalist, 14,177.[37]

The formation of parties, with the machinery that they devised to deal with nomination and campaigning, brought the various controversies about questions of representation into a more formal arena of political dispute. Three such matters occupied legislative attention: the demand for the popular election of presidential electors, the district election plan, and the representation of counties in the legislature. All these became involved in the warfare of Republicans and Federalists under the Adams administration. This period also saw a new move to revise the revolutionary constitution of the state, a move that arose on the Federalist side with strong support among the lawyers. The arguments for revision included a demand for an improvement of the suffrage arrangements, with a tax-paying qualification, although such a reform would not actually have increased the number of people permitted to vote. Indeed, though this reform might formally have meant an extension to some, the suffrage was now so wide that when William Griffith recommended the change in his pseudonymous *Eumenes* papers, he observed that a tax qualification "excludes from a share in elections those who, from absolute poverty or insignificance, ought not to share in them."[38]

The parties were not divided in principle on the suffrage question; they simply used the existing system to its limits. Neither were they as clearly divided on the question of popular sovereignty as the Republicans would have wished to maintain. Politicians of both sides were quick to grasp the significance of the detailed arrangement of electoral districts and the proportional basis of representation in a republic with a broad franchise.

The plan to divide the state into electoral districts for purposes of representation in Congress, rather than to elect all members on a general state ticket had been put forward, without success,

[37] *Federalist*, Jan. 6, 1801.

[38] [Wm. Griffith] *Eumenes* (Trenton, 1799), p. 49. These papers originally appeared in the Trenton *Federalist* in the winter of 1798-99, and were published in book form in the latter year.

in 1788, 1790, and 1794;[39] the debate flared up in 1798, but it is difficult to find clearly marked party lines on either side. In the following session, in 1799, the debate over the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and over popular election of presidential electors, brought Republicans and Federalists into collision; but when the votes of those members who sat in both sessions are compared, neither party seems to have held a consistent opinion on the district plan.[40] In studying the debates it will be well to recall that although party allegiances were developing over national issues, that kind of organization that demands adherence to a program in legislative matters had not yet matured within the state.

The principal argument for the division into electoral districts was that they would enable the people to know their candidates better. William Pennington, a Republican, speaking for the district plan, maintained that state-wide elections opened the field for intrigue, presumably because they permitted the nomination of candidates of whom people in some quarters of the state could have no knowledge, which the district system did not. Many states, he pointed out, had adopted the district plan.[41] The reply to this was made by Coxe, who reminded the House that the states which had adopted the district plan had done so to counteract the undue influence of the numerous populations and

[39]General Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings,* Nov. 20, 22, 1790. To facilitate reference I follow McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey,* in citing this as *NJAJ* (i.e., Assembly). McCormick, *Experiment in Independence* (New Brunswick, 1951), pp. 287-88; McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey,* p. 107.

[40]At least four Federalists, Lippincott, Lloyd, Stockton, and Van Duyn, opposed popular election of presidential electors, but voted for electoral districts; four more who were apparently Federalists, Thomas Blansh, John Morgan, Peter Ward, and Simon Wyckoff, opposed both projects. The Federalist William Coxe voted for general elections; but Wyckoff and James Morgan puzzle the student as it must be hoped that they did not puzzle their constituents, by voting in favor of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions after giving an anti-Republican vote over popular election. Leading Republicans such as William Pennington, Henry Southard, Aaron Kitchell, John Condict, and James Linn, worked and voted in the debates for the district system.—*Federalist,* Oct. 14, 1799; *NJAJ,* Nov. 7, 1798, and Feb. 16, 24, 26, 27, 1798; Jan. 18, 31, 1799. Legislative Council, *Journal,* 1798, p. 45 (to be cited as NJCJ). McCormick finds the explanation in the alliance of Democratic-Republicans from the North (or East) with Federalists from the South (or West) who were disgruntled at the under-representation of their division. *Voting in New Jersey,* pp. 107-08. This may be right; but it does not account for Lloyd (Monmouth) or Van Duyn (Somerset) who did not represent southern counties.

[41]*Guardian,* March 5, 1798.

weighty interests of great capital cities by which they might otherwise have been dominated.

The great unfairness of the proposed districts under the present bill was emphasized by opponents of the measure and admitted by Pennington, who twice moved amendments to bring about greater equality. These were lost. Apart from their objection to the disparity of number, which, it was held would effectively disfranchise 15,000 to 17,000 people in the proposed eastern district, the opponents of the bill argued that by dividing the state into five districts, each to elect one congressman only, the legislature would in effect be depriving each voter of four-fifths of his suffrage. Another opponent of the bill said that the great object should be to get men of ability, and added the thought, now becoming old-fashioned in practice if not in rhetoric, that they should aim to counteract the formation of parties.[42]

Federalist opponents of the bill were inclined to attribute it to the Republicans, although some Federalists supported it. A letter, signed "Spectator," one of a series of commentators writing in the columns of the *Guardian,* stated that the primary object of Kitchell, Linn, and Pennington had been to secure seats in Congress.[43] This point was made again three weeks later by "A Somerset Farmer," who remarked that "their jacobins were pleased," hoping to get their men into Congress. They had not been able to win a state-wide election. "If Mr Linn, or Mr Southard, Mr Kitchell or Dr Condict wish to go to Congress, is that a reason why a district should be cut off for the purpose?"[44] Some support for this view comes from the correspondence of the state's two senators. "The present legislature," wrote Senator Richard Stockton, in attempting to dissuade John Rutherfurd from resigning his Senate seat, "is very much managed by Kitchell and Condict—and it is likely I think that one of them would be the man"—the man, that is, to succeed Rutherfurd if he resigned. Three weeks later he wrote: " . . . Our State is in a very critical condition now—Condict and Kitchell rule—They will district the State—They will raise the Jurisdiction of Justices

[42] *Ibid.*, March 3 and 27, 1798.
[43] *Ibid.*, April 10, 1798.
[44] *Ibid.*, May 1, 1798.

to 60 or 100 dols—and they will procure either the one or the other to be appointed a Senator."[45] Stockton was well informed, for the act he feared was actually passed some nine months later.[46]

The results of the congressional election that immediately followed this act did nothing to discredit the interpretation of the Federalist commentators. In the Eastern district, Dr. John Condict defeated a well-known Federalist, James Schureman, by over three hundred votes; Aaron Kitchell won the Northern district by over two thousand, while James Linn topped the combined vote of his rivals in the Western district in a three-cornered fight. The Middle and Southern districts were taken by the Federalists, James H. Imlay, and Franklin Davenport, respectively.[47]

The whole question was renewed in 1800 before the congressional elections were due. The Republican *Centinel of Freedom* came out in favor of a state-wide election as opposed to the district plan. But the main part of this article was directed, not towards the district controversy, but towards popularizing the elections of presidential electors, the Federalists being condemned for keeping the appointing power in the hands of the legislature.[48] A Republican writer advocated a return to the state-wide system in the interests of Republican organization. The Republican committees in different parts of the state, working together for the same set of candidates, would be able to exert a powerful influence on the electors. He noted the Federalist opposition to the committees and cited examples of meetings at which they had tried to arouse the citizens' fears of "aristocracy."[49]

The Federalist majority in the legislature was persuaded that, after the Republican success in three of the five districts in

[45]Stockton to Rutherfurd, Jan. 30 and Feb. 20, 1798, in *PNJHS*, 2nd series, vol. 3. pp. 181-85. There was a John Condict, or Condit, of Essex, in the Council and a Silas Condict of Morris as Speaker of the Assembly; likewise there were two Kitchells (with one or two final "l's"), Abraham of Morris in the Council and Aaron of Morris in the Assembly. It is altogether probable that Dr. John Condict and Aaron Kitchell, both prominent state politicians, and both subsequently elected to Congress, were those intended.

[46]*NJL*, 22 sess., 2 sit., pp. 310-12.

[47]*Federalist & New Jersey Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1798.

[48]*Centinel of Freedom*, Oct. 9, 1800.

[49]"A Morris County Voter," *Genius of Liberty*, Oct. 9, 1800.

1798, Federalist interests would be best served by a return to the general system. Early in the new session, therefore, the district act was replaced by a new election law which omitted all reference to districts and directed the governor and Privy Council to determine the five persons who should have the greatest number of votes in the state as a whole.[50]

The law temporarily changed the minds of Republican writers, never very sure on which side the advantage lay;[51] but disappointment with the general system was turned against the Federalists. For the first time, the entire Republican ticket was elected to Congress. In reporting the distressing news, *The Federalist* alleged that girls of eighteen and married women had voted in Essex, Morris, and Sussex; but it was added that the Federalists had made enough legal votes to over-balance the illegal Democratic ones, had they not shamefully neglected their duty.[52]

In 1802 the Federalists sponsored the district system once again, in the hope of recovering their lost ground. But some Federalists seemed to be tired of their leaders and helped to defeat the district bill.[53] The *Guardian* copied from the Trenton *Federalist* the opinion that the bill would give each political party a fair chance. "But it is already denounced by the democrats. They say it WONT PASS.—They WANT ALL." After the defeat of the bill, the opposition of the Democrats was sullenly condemned; they, curiously, had not been content to give each political interest "an EQUAL CHANCE of being represented in Congress . . . They negatived the equal provisions of the bill—Their object being to OBTAIN ALL."[54] The Democrats were lamentably greedy.

The controversy made only one further appearance before the rise of Jacksonian politics. When, after a campaign of opposition to the war with Britain, the Federalists regained control of the legislature in 1812, they hurriedly passed a gerrymandering district law.[55] The loaded districts gave them the desired victory in

[50] *NJL*, 25 sess., 1 sit., pp. 4-6.
[51] *Centinel of Freedom*, Dec. 9, 1800.
[52] *Federalist*, Jan. 6, 1801.
[53] *New Jersey Journal*, Nov. 23, 1802.
[54] *Guardian*, Nov. 25, and Dec. 16, 1802.
[55] *NJL*, 37 sess., 1 sit., pp. 5-11.

the congressional elections, but the very crudity of the measure seems to have turned opinion against them, and a Republican majority repealed the law in the following session.[56]

The Assembly debate of 1798 in general respected the convention that electoral measures were intended to improve the system of representation; but the comments carried by the newspapers more frankly discussed the party advantages that might be expected to accrue from one plan or another. This is particularly noticeable among the Republicans after 1800, by which time the power of the local committees co-operating for a general purpose had begun to be recognized on the one side as it was reviled and feared on the other. The principle of popular sovereignty was respected in the wrangling over the district system only insofar as each party considered that its own election would best serve the interests of the people at large. The demand for the election of presidential electors by vote of the people, instead of their appointment by joint session of the legislature, stood somewhat closer to the problem of a truly popular representation.

Although the newspapers are silent, the legislative records show that the contest arose at the beginning of the Federal period.[57] The demand came before the legislature in the form of petitions early in the busy fall session of 1798. A motion in the committee of the whole, to dismiss the petitions, was carried, after a long and energetic debate.[58] The vote brought denunciation from the Republican press and from at least one public meeting; and in the election campaign of the following year, the Newark *Centinel* made the Federalist candidates' opposition to popular election an issue, along with their votes for high taxes on laboring men, and other political crimes.[59] While the petitions were still before the House, a meeting in Essex, "numerous and respectable" as always, denounced the alien and sedition laws and at the same time resolved that the election of presidential electors by the legislature was not agreeable to the meaning of the Constitution. The state legislature, they declared, was vested by the federal Constitution only with the power of determining how

[56] *NJL*, 38 sess., 1 sit., pp. 60-61. Fee, *Transition from Aristocracy*, pp. 174-82.
[57] *NJAJ*, May 27, June 4, 8, Nov. 3, 6, 10, 12, 1790.
[58] *NJAJ*, Nov. 7, 1798; Jan. 31, 1799.
[59] *Centinel of Freedom*, Oct. 1, 1799.

the *people* should choose; the meeting adopted a remonstrance and asked the legislature to change the law.[60]

The debate in the Assembly was spread over two sittings. The Republicans relied mainly on the broad principle of the right of suffrage, supported, not to say embarrassed by, certain legalistic niceties as to the meaning of the Constitution of the United States. This legislature, declared Silas Dickerson, did not share Burke's contempt for the swinish multitude. The people had never given away their right to appoint electors—it had been assumed by the legislature through misconstruction of the federal Constitution. "The State shall elect . . . " meant that the people of the state should do so; otherwise the Constitution would be mere jargon, for it would be absurd for the legislature to prescribe a method of doing something themselves—it would be as proper for them to elect the ensuing legislature.

William Lloyd, of Monmouth, replied that the same words and procedure had applied under the Confederation without provoking dissatisfaction. It was argued by the petitioners that in some states the legislature prescribed the manner of election, while the people elected; but this assumed that "State" and "legislature" were different conceptions, the legislature having the right to determine the method, the state alone doing the electing. In fact the words "state" and "legislature" could be seen to have been used uniformly, as synonymous terms, throughout the Constitution. "Although a considerable number have subscribed to these petitions," said Lloyd, "yet, they are few when compared to the citizens at large, and the majority are doubtless relying on us, in full confidence that we will maintain their rights entrusted to us, for greater security, inviolate. If the prayer of the petitioners be granted, persons discordant in sentiment, will probably be chosen electors, and the little weight we possess in the general scale will then be lost; whereas, if the legislature appoint them, they will elect men uniform in sentiment, and our state will then have its proper weight." The same speaker had but a few minutes previously attacked the petitioners on the ground that their object was to prevent the re-election of the President, and had declared that their complaints would not have

[60] *New Jersey Journal*, Jan. 29 and Feb. 5, 1799.

been heard if the legislature were to appoint electors with whom they agreed. This resort to the well-tried doctrine of state unity, when that unity would act wholly in the Federalist interest, can hardly have persuaded his opponents.

Henry Southard, of Somerset,[61] replied that he was sorry to hear Lloyd accuse the petitioners of party motives. Their object was no less than to exercise their most important privilege in the election of the chief magistrate. They claimed the privilege first as a constitutional right and secondly as a matter of national policy. "State" meant "people." And if there were any doubt, then republican principles would favor the suffrage of the people. The people of sister states enjoyed this right. The question of where the right of election was vested by the Constitution was further examined in an able speech by William Coxe, now speaker of the House. Coxe argued that the privilege alone was the judge of the expediency of either delegating it or exercising it. This represents the Federalist-legal reply to the contention that the right subsists in the people, the legislature being empowered only to determine how it is to be exercised by them. In the light of tradition in New Jersey up to this time, the Federalist position would seem to be constitutionally sound; but constitutional doctrine could, with a little pressure, be made to fit the Republican mould as well, and the Republicans were trying to set a constitutional precedent that would be almost impossible to reverse. The debate on this issue is but one part of the continuous interplay between constitutional doctrine and political interest, a fragment, but not an isolated fragment, of the major struggles of the Jeffersonian period. Coxe, continuing his speech, attacked the party motives of the opposition, and pointed out that if the present practice had been a violation of the Constitution it might have been expected to have been detected in the two preceding presidential elections. He concluded with a defence of the role of the electors in protecting the people from themselves that was reminiscent of Burke. "Thus this necessary precaution against the sudden effect of a violent and impetuous torrent of popular prejudice or resentment is fortunately ensured in the least burdensome way, and while the electors form an intermediate body

[61] Father of Samuel L. Southard (Princeton, class of 1804), who was to be a prominent New Jersey Republican for many years.

between the people and their first magistrate, they operate as a strainer of popular feelings and attachments, ensuring the best chance of a wise and virtuous choice." A wise and virtuous choice, of course, would be John Adams; and Coxe's strainer would have so to sift the people's purer from their grosser wishes as to transform the result of the election. Pennington followed with a long analysis of the Constitution, the gist of which was contained in one rhetorical question: "Are not the people from whom all power is and ought to be derived, the proper body to exercise the right of suffrage?" The motion in favor of the petitions was lost by eighteen votes to nineteen, a division which shows Republican sympathies gaining strength among New Jersey's legislators three years before the Republicans could claim a distinct party victory in the state elections.[62]

Not much was added to these arguments when the debate was renewed in January.[63] But it is clear that the Republicans were making use of the claim for popular representation, for the extension of the existing suffrage to new objects, while the Federalists believed that they had less to gain from placing the organs of government under the more direct control of their sovereign master, the people. The Republicans, when in power, redeemed their pledge by passing an act giving the election of presidential electors to the voters for Congress.[64]

The Federalists did not return to power until 1812; an event which they celebrated with a sudden and ill-advised attack on the electoral system. In addition to the district gerrymander, they tried to assist the election of their new convert, Clinton, to the presidency, by pressing through a repeal of the popular election law and restoring the duty of choosing presidential electors to the legislature; but they had to move with such haste that special couriers bearing the tidings of the new law reached some of the counties only after voting had begun.[65] On returning to power in 1813 the Republicans repealed this law as well as the recent district act.[66]

[62] *State Gazette*, Nov. 12 and 19, 1798. The legislative journals did not report debates, for which the newspapers are our sole source.

[63] *Newark Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1799.

[64] *NJL*, 28 sess., 2 sit., pp. 310-13.

[65] Elmer, *Constitution and Government of New Jersey*, pp. 151-52.

[66] *NJL*, 38 sess., 1 sit., p. 60.

The system of representation could be improved, or marred, in yet another respect owing to the county basis on which it had been established. The constitution of 1776 provided that changes in the proportion in which the counties were represented in the Assembly might take place so long as the total membership never dropped below thirty-nine. The first re-allocation was not made until 1797, when two western counties lost three representatives between them, while Sussex, Burlington, and Hunterdon were each advanced from three to four. This act, like its successors in the same field, was entitled, "An Act for the more equal representation of the Counties of . . . [etc.]"[67] But it was self-interest, not equality, that gained from the result. An illuminating comment on this redistribution occurs in a note on a blank leaf in William Coxe's copy of *Eumenes*:

> The first change in the representation in the house of assembly was well known to have been supported by East Jersey in order to lessen the influence of the Western Counties on the decision of the slave bill, passed 8th April 1797. 3 members were taken from Cumberland and Cape-May 2 of which were given to Sussex and Hunterdon, the former disposed to continue slavery and the latter decidedly in opposition to emancipation: the question of abolition was lost by this stroke of policy.[68]

Coxe had every reason to know what was going on in the Assembly of which he was a prominent member, and no reason to misrepresent the facts in a note in his own book. The passage against which the comment is entered is one in which Griffith is arguing for a reorganization of the basis of representation. The county basis, he says, in a palpable wrong; every district should be represented in ratio to its taxable population. The people of New Jersey, not the counties, were designed to be represented in the legislature.[69]

Soon after this, Essex County strove for an enlargement of its representation, failing to gain its point in 1802,[70] but getting the desired increase from the Republican legislature of 1803.[71] The

[67] *NJL*, 22 sess., 2 sit., p. 212

[68] From the copy of *Eumenes* in PUL, facing p. 52. A note is subjoined: "From note in W Coxe Jr's copy." The ink is brown and the note is probably contemporary.

[69] *Eumenes*, p. 53.

[70] *NJAJ*, Oct. 27, Nov. 27, 1802.

[71] *NJAJ*, Oct. 28, Nov. 10, 1803.

creation of new townships and new counties was later, especially in the Jackson period, to become a potent method of strengthening party representation.[72]

The exertions of the political parties were assisted, on each side, by an exposition of the principles involved, an exposition that was, indeed, an important part of the struggle for power. Republican principles were deployed both in the legislative debates on representation and in the strategy of elections; but since it is more difficult to adapt oneself to failure, either in prospect or in retrospect, than to success, the rise of the Jeffersonian movement, even before 1800, exacted more serious analysis from Federalist than from Republican writers. In consequence a review of the political thinking, especially that of the Federalists, that accompanied the party struggle, resolves itself into an analysis of the Federalist failure to meet and solve the problems of their times and will help to explain their fall.

New Jersey Republicans did not exert themselves to be subtle; they found it sufficient to occupy themselves with the organizing of a nominating machinery, a continuous system of township and county committees with rotation in office and a link provided by the Republican membership of the legislature, while their legislative proposals were supported by appeals to popular sovereignty and the exposure of the familiar perils of aristocracy and monarchy. The Federalists, as has been seen, were stopped short of this practical view by a strong distaste for permanent party organization; and Federalist criticism was therefore drawn forth by the primary fact of Republican committee and party machinery, more especially when this machinery threatened to continue on a permanent footing instead of dismantling itself after an election had been fought. Where the Republicans were fighting a campaign with the methods that have been noted, we find that their opponents were embarrassed by divided aims, engaged on the one hand in the electoral contest itself, and on the other attempting to combat the principle on which their opponents were organized; trying both to win the election, and to prevent the contest from assuming the character imposed almost inescapably by the Republican methods of fighting.

[72]See in this connection McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, pp. 102-04.

The Federalists, however, were by no means averse to the extravagances of an election campaign, being particularly anxious to remind the voters of the association between their opponents and the French terror. Articles in the Federalist press at election times give glimpses of the dual purpose of Federalist tactics, combining vilification of the Democrats with the attack on their political methods. Voters in 1798 were urged to choose men of character and accomplished minds. This, of course, was expected to rule out Republicans from the start, and was followed by advice not to choose men who had consistently abused the government and brought the measures of Congress into disrepute. These men were *"French tories,"* a new and horrid political category. The voters were to beware of "Jacobin lacquies," who would be subservient to the base designs of the Chief Director.

> *Lastly;* if candidates for office are over anxious for success; if they write letters to everybody, promise everything, bargain, trick and contrive by all possible ways and means to gain their point, their pretensions are very weak to public favor and confidence. It is no discredit to any man to employ the means which his good character and friendships furnish, in securing his election; but what I allude to, are those low and unmanly arts which are practiced by some people, to prevail on others, by hopes or fears, to support their views.

This was not all. The writer went on to speak of "Dangerous characters, who, under the mask of *democratic* jealousy, are sapping the *republican constitution and government* of their own country, and making way for French impiety, and all the horrors of French despotism, rapacity and violence."[73]

It was thus not merely the Democratic machinery of campaign that came in for abuse; the whole notion of organized electioneering, of soliciting for votes with promises of rewards, was regarded as immoral and subversive of republican institutions. Although this attitude to politics was becoming old-fashioned, it had a respectable past, and had been recognized in the provisions of the first and subsequent election laws passed under the state constitution. Bribery, the offer of fee, reward, victuals, drink or other entertainment, and the use of "undue Influence," were declared to be punishable by a fine of ten pounds, and a fifty-

[73] *Federalist*, Sept. 24, 1798.

pound fine could be imposed for spreading false reports that might prejudice the outcome of the election.[74] In 1798 a member of the Assembly could still appeal against the formation of parties.[75] The dilemma of the Federalists became intolerable when they found themselves trying to fight a campaign while resisting the whole principle of political campaigning.

Republican methods and aims came in for further denunciation with the threat of Jefferson's election in 1800. The Republicans would level and distribute property; men were equal in their free birth, but not in qualities. Readers of the Newark *Gazette* learned in this issue that Republicans, imitating the Jacobins of a neighboring county, had formed a nominating committee in Bergen, but had then begun to squabble amongst themselves. "Were there one hundred offices, *republicans, those pretended haters of office,* would be found to fill them all." They were moreover accusing each other of fraud and adultery.[76] Another writer had asserted from experience of the Revolution, that "Committeemen" must be bent on overthrowing the established government.[77]

For those who might not be able to follow the argument, the latter of these two issues of the Newark *Gazette* offered a brief editorial summary of the entire question, entitled "The Grand Question Stated": "At the present solemn and momentous epoch, the only question to be asked by every American, laying his hand on his heart, is, "shall I continue in allegiance to *God—And A Religious President; or impiously declare for Jefferson—And No God!!!"*

A Republican paper, in reporting the result of the election, presented an alternative view: *"Jefferson Elected.* . . . This is glorious! Resplendently Glorious! A complete victory is obtained by virtue over vice, republicanism over aristocracy, and the consequent downfall of the Hamiltonians, Pickeronians, British Agents and Old Tories."[78]

This is not to suggest that common sense, logic, or indeed,

[74]*NJL,* 1 sess., 2 sit., pp. 54-61; 4 sess., 1 sit., p. 36, etc.
[75]See p. 273 above.
[76]*Newark Gazette,* Oct. 7, 1800.
[77]*Newark Gazette,* Sept. 30, 1800.
[78]*Centinel of Freedom,* Dec. 16, 1800.

grammar, were wholly absent from political discussion in New Jersey, even in election campaigns. One of the Bergen writers had touched on a real problem for those who accepted the republican frame of government without admitting its more democratic implications. The Trenton *Federalist* attacked the "impudent pretensions of the *democrats* to republicanism." Such a claim, in a government that was already republican in its foundations, was an impertinence; and the real thing to fear was not their assumed republicanism but their intended tyranny. The despotisms of Venice, the Dutch, Switzerland, and France had been, or were, "republics." What the United States had was a constitution that was republican, establishing a representative government in all departments. Congress represented the people in making laws, the Senate represented them in making treaties, the President in many executive functions.[79]

The question was how to maintain a representative government without allowing the power to fall into the hands of a demogogically led rabble. When Mr. Dickerson said in 1798 that the legislature did not share Burke's contempt for the swinish multitude,[80] he must be supposed to have been speaking upon presumption rather than inference; Coxe said in the same debate that the power to appoint a president was safer in the hands of men who would act as a "strainer" of popular feelings; and even the Republicans, when in power, did nothing to bring the election of United States senators nearer to the people, or to reduce the property qualifications for membership of the legislature.

This was one of the problems taken up by William Paterson, formerly attorney-general and governor of New Jersey and now a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a series of essays, some of which were printed in the newspapers while others remained in manuscript. Writing on "Property," he remarked that some theorists thought that republicanism meant an equal distribution of property. This was impossible and wrong; but he added that the abolition of entail and primogeniture was

[79] *Federalist*, Sept. 16, 1800.
[80] See above, p. 277.

in accord with the genius of the republican spirit.[81] Paterson later became very bitter about the claims of the democrats. The Constitution of the United States had been made by the people:

> And yet what a mighty din and noise do we hear from day to day about democracy, and monarchy, and aristocracy, as though we had no such thing as a constitution, and were left to act as everyone thought right in his own eyes . . . Let us no longer be disturbed by frightful dreams about monarchical, aristocratical or other[82] forms of government; we have one of our own, sketched by the mighty hand of the people; and, may it last as long as the sun and moon endure.[83]

When the Federalist lawyer, William Griffith, set forth his arguments in favor of reforming the old state constitution, he remarked that it was not part of his plan to suggest amendments; a convention—elected by a popular vote, of course—could be trusted. No other course, perhaps, was open; but there is ample evidence from the *Eumenes* essays that Griffith found the popular method right and acceptable.[84]

However grave the doubts of Paterson and of men of his cast of mind about the fate of the Republic if it were to fall into the hands of democrats, Jacobins, French lacquies and Thomas Jefferson, it is clear that they accepted the idea of a representative form of government drawing its authority from the sovereignty of the people. The point, in part, was to avoid supposing that the people consisted exclusively of the lower orders. Moreover the argument cited from *The Federalist,*[85] suggested that the people were represented at different levels for different purposes, by the separate organs of the central government. The argument did not very aptly fit the facts. The House of Representatives might represent the people in making the laws, and the Senate in making treaties; but whom, then, did the Senate represent in its own part in the making of laws? And why was it more proper that executive functions should be performed by

[81] William Paterson, essays on politics and other topics (MS), signed "Aurelius," RUL.

[82] "Other" was substituted here after "democratical" had been written and crossed out.

[83] Paterson, essays, RUL.

[84] *Eumenes,* p. 113.

[85] See above, p. 284.

a person who represented the people through indirect election? The belief concealed behind these Federalist protestations was that the people as a whole could not in fact be trusted with responsibility for the most important duties of government.

But this would not have made good campaign material. In view of the democracy prevalent at the polls in New Jersey, it would have been very difficult indeed for any Federalist, however conservative his opinions, to make a stand for a revival of property qualifications for the suffrage such as might really have disfranchised enough electors to keep the Republicans out of office. The problem of representation in the new environment presented the Federalists with a dilemma which they solved in the end only by ceasing to exist as a party. New Jersey was not like New York, where a constitutionally imposed system of property qualifications seems in fact to have excluded until the convention of 1821, a section of the population interested in the right to vote. Perhaps the absence of serious objections to popular participation in the process of government was due to the substantial degree of equality among the dominant farming population. In 1786, John Rutherfurd (later United States Senator) noted that most of the land was divided into farms of fifty to 400 acres,[86] and about the same time John Witherspoon, in some descriptive notes on his adopted state, remarked that New Jersey was "in general settled by farmers, with a great equality of rank and even possessions . . . "[87]

If the New Jersey Federalists had been faced with anything in their own state resembling the development of an urban class of laborers in New York and Philadelphia, they might have had less confidence in the reliable good sense of the electorate as a whole than was in fact displayed by Paterson and Griffith. Despite the tantrums that broke out at election times, the conservatives did not often express the deep sense of class distinction and inherited authority that prevailed among the Schuylers and Van Rensselaers. Paterson treated as urgent the question of how to get people to come out and vote. Bad men would not be

[86]John Rutherfurd, "Notes on the State of New Jersey" (1786), in *PNJHS* 2 ser., I (1867-69), 81.

[87]Witherspoon, "A Description of New Jersey," in his *Works* (Phila. 1801-02), pp. 303-12.

elected, he said, "if the great body of electors could be brought into activity and could be prevailed upon to come forward and vote." He argued in favor of holding congressional and legislative elections on the same day because, besides saving time and money, it would have the advantage of getting a maximum turnout to vote.[88]

Returning to this theme, Paterson urged that it was the duty of every elector to vote, and deplored that so few attended the elections, even when they were held at their very doors. It seldom happened that more than one third of the electors appeared and voted for members of Congress or the state legislature; but he noted that the office of sheriff, being of a lucrative nature, frequently called forth great exertions. He went so far as to advocate an additional tax on persons not voting, for voting was a duty as well as a right.[89]

William Griffith gave detailed attention to the suffrage question and defined the limits at which he thought the franchise ought to be drawn. He pointed out that the constitution of 1776 as it stood admitted to the vote all men, bond or free, black or white, who were natives of the state; aliens, fugitives, convicts and subjects of foreign governments; all persons from other parts of the United States, of all descriptions; and that it required no oath of allegiance. The constitution should, he held, admit to the suffrage only freemen, natives of the state or naturalized American citizens, residents of their county for some reasonable time, who either paid taxes or held some other qualification. They should be obliged to declare their allegiance to New Jersey.[90] There were further objections; the oath as to property, added by legislation, had proved "a fruitful source of perjury." Moreover, many rightful voters were excluded by the requirement that voters must be worth fifty pounds *clear* estate.[91] Griffith was not writing with the laws open on his table; the clear estate provision, though it remained in the constitution, had in fact been

[88]Paterson, essays, signed "Hortensius," RUL.

[89]Paterson, essays, signed "Hortensius," RUL. These essays are undated, but appear to have been written about the middle of the 1790's. One of them discussed Jay's Treaty in a topical manner. A few years later Paterson would have little cause to complain of the meagreness of the polls.

[90]*Eumenes,* pp. 38-39.

[91]*Ibid.,* pp. 44-45.

dropped by law in 1797,[92] and it may be doubted whether it had been enforced before. Yet it was from his discussion of this relatively trivial point that this Federalist leader was led to make some of his most persuasive comments on the rights of citizens. His argument deserves quotation:

> Why a man should be worth fifty pounds *clear* estate, to qualify him properly to choose the person he would wish to have the charge over his life, liberty and privileges as a citizen, is a problem not easily solved, by an appeal to reason and justice. If it is said that fifty pounds in money or land, makes him more a man and a citizen, than one who may not be worth five pounds, or a shilling, it is an assertion without proof, and requires no refutation. If it is said, that a man who possesses fifty pounds, will be wiser than his neighbour, who has but ten pounds; nature and experience teach us, to smile at the simplicity of such a thought.

There were other values than property: liberty, life and rights. "The poor man's freedom," he argued, "is, perhaps, his sweetest enjoyment; ought he not then to be consulted in the choice of those, who have the power to infringe it? . . . Ought not he to participate in electing those who assess him?" In conclusion Griffith summarized his case:

> In short, every argument which can be urged in favor of the right of suffrage for the wealthy man (saving that only of his property) applies with equal strength, if not greater, in favor of permitting all virtuous citizens (however circumstanced in regard to property) to have an interest in the appointment of those who are to legislate over them.[93]

It would be difficult to find any Republican tract or speech that put more forcefully or humanely the case for admitting the poor to a share in the system by which they were governed than his statement that if there were any discriminating between citizens then the balance should go in favor of the poor, with the terse judgment that "The rich and powerful will take care of themselves; the least privilege which the poor should enjoy, is that of giving a solitary vote for their rulers."[94]

Griffith did not aspire to be New Jersey's Tom Paine; he accepted the inequality in the division of property and was ready in the same passage to concede that the possession of some prop-

[92] *NJL*, 21 sess., 2 sit., p. 174.
[93] *Eumenes*, pp. 46-48.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

erty, especially freehold, furnished security for the integrity of the elector. The essential qualifications were the payment of taxes, residence and personal freedom. The kind whom Griffith would have been willing to exclude from voting are no doubt those he describes elsewhere:

"In the county where I reside, there are, I venture to affirm, two hundred Irishmen employed at different works, who are never taxed, except at the whipping post: and yet these fellows are brought up to elections, and their votes, perhaps, placed in equal balance against those of as many respectable and wealthy citizens."[95]

Griffith exhibits to some degree the Federalist dilemma, the desire to retain a propertied order and a related political order, together with the realization that a republican government could not rely on an aristocratic hierarchy, and derived its right to exist from the sovereignty of the people. In his case the problem is perhaps made more difficult by his sense of social justice; yet the confusion in his mind is betrayed when he shudders at the thought that the Irish workingmen—whom he does not accuse of idleness or vagrancy—should rank equal to men of wealth when they cast their votes.

The people whom the Federalists would still have excluded from the political system seem to have been, not the industrious artisan, the laborer or the poor farmer, but merely the idle and floating population, the brickbat-throwing rabble. The conception of "a stake in society" had been extended. Once it had meant ownership of land; but now, quite properly, it meant ownership of some fixed property with its attendant interests—a smithy, a workshop, for instance, were no less valuable centers of industry, tying their masters and workers to the community, than were the acres of the small farmers. Paterson, it will be recalled, while repudiating the levelling of property, said that the abolition of entail and primogeniture was in the genius of the republican spirit;[96] and it would be a mistake to dismiss this opinion as the limit to which a Federalist might reluctantly go in seeking to reconcile himself to the new order. There was here

[95] *Ibid.*, footnote to p. 37.

[96] The abolition of primogeniture and entail may be a relief to the landowner too. But Paterson was not concerned with that point.

an earnest attempt to apply the principles of the new regime, to work out a system based on a recognized measure of equality in political rights, a system that would hold the elements of the new nation together without descending into political anarchy or social egalitarianism.

If the New Jersey Federalists had no intention of going back on the principles of popular sovereignty, it must be admitted that they would have been far happier had they been exempted from going forward. It was possible for Paterson to maintain that every voter had a positive duty to go to the polls, because he had reason to believe that the substantial part of the population, those who had some propertied stake in the community and shared the evenly divided wealth of which Witherspoon and Rutherfurd had written not long before, still outnumbered the ignorant, the unpropertied, the inebriate and the vagrant, those who comprised the rabble and those who were easily duped.

The Republican leaders were not, of course, the rabble-rousers that their opponents proclaimed them to be. Indeed, an important group who helped to dip the balance on the Republican side in 1801 had recently been Federalists, and Joseph Bloomfield was regarded by the Federalists as a deserter.[97] Men like Bloomfield, Silas Dickerson, Pennington, and Condict, were all substantial social leaders; and the Republican Southard, in a debate in 1798 on imprisonment for debt, which might be thought to have been an issue close to the Democratic conscience, showed a pronounced concern for the interests of creditors, and said he thought that in cases of default the most secure way to get at the property was to seize the person.[98] Republicans have appeared, in debates on the districting of the state, as opportunist politicians, trying to gain by contrivance a majority that they had not yet gained by conviction.

Yet it was the constant object of Federalist propaganda to identify the Republican leadership with the humblest, the most uneducated and the least disciplined orders of the community. This policy was undoubtedly intended to raise a majority of voters from the widely distributed propertied classes by alarming

[97]Elmer, *Constitution and Government of New Jersey*, pp. 124-25. Above, p. 15.
[98]*New Jersey Journal*, Jan. 30, 1798.

all men of any property or education; but it was a strategem of dubious wisdom. Not only did a single Republican victory do much to dispel the alarm; not only did the Federalists weaken their case by their willingness to enroll every variety of voter for their own cause; but their policy tended, in the long run, to bring about a greater degree of that very identification of Republican leadership with popular or mass support that was bound to prove stronger than any corresponding social appeal available to the "party of talents." Only the unpopular war of 1812 gave the Federalists a temporary respite: and they then showed a contempt for the elective system that was to be recalled by their enemies as long afterwards as the time of Jackson.[99]

The federal Constitution, that had for congressional purposes first made the state an electoral unit, brought into being a statewide system of nomination; and no one would deny that the establishment of the federal Constitution was a Federalist victory. So there is a certain irony in the fate of the Federalists. For it was the new system of nomination that in turn called forth the growth of party machinery that was more readily adopted and more efficiently developed by Republicans than Federalists, and indeed outraged the Federalists' sense of political propriety and contributed to their defeat as a party.

The Federalists had, of necessity and in honest conviction, accepted the permanent principles of popular representation from which the Republic drew its strength. In resisting the Republican party by attacking its methods of organization and electioneering, they were resisting a kind of development that could hardly have been avoided under the new form of government, especially when population was increasing, party strife was vigorous, and local practices were persistently at variance with official intentions.[100] The election disputes show Federalists, no less than

[99] *Emporium and True American,* Sept. 29, 1832.

[100] The election laws were very unsystematically applied by the local officers. Numerous disputed elections brought to light the frequency with which the judges used their discretion, either through corruption or through the exercise of a kind of local option, evading both constitution and law. Paterson, deploring these irregularities, urged that the law should be both uniform and permanent.—Paterson, essays, signed "Hortensius," RUL. Papers relating to a famous disputed election in Hunterdon County in 1802 (to mention only one example) are preserved in the AM papers, packet 1979, NJSL; the dispute is recorded in *NJAJ,* Oct. 27, 29; Nov. 4, 11, 16, 1802. See in general McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey,* pp. 82-83; 112-19.

Republicans, as being ready to accept the support of almost anyone who would vote for them, irrespective of honesty, propriety, or qualifications.

The misfortunes of the Federalists cannot be explained wholly by the errors of their assumption of political superiority. The Republican navigators sailed in on a rising tide of popularity. Yet the Federalists were capable of fighting extremely hard with the weapons they chose to use. Their press was vigorous, often virulent; they fought elections as a united party throughout the state, with a system of nomination and campaign depending on the existence of an organized Federalist interest in each county; and it may be that their refusal to enter more thoroughly into the spirit and to adopt more fully the methods of their opponents was tinged with pique at the challenge to a control that they had not needed in the past seriously to defend. But the Republicans were seizing the initiative, dictating the pace and style of the political struggle and indeed laying the foundations of that professionalism which developed in the Jackson era. The Federalists, though desperately anxious to retain power, were both divided and out-maneuvered by their opponents. Though they used every available resource in a campaign, their machinery moved more slowly and less efficiently, and they could not agree to maintain it as a permanent institution of political life. Their loss of the initiative was both a symptom and a cause of their decline.

"A Letter from New Jersey"

Monmouth County in the Mid-Eighteenth Century

FRED SHELLEY

MANY are the men and women in New Jersey history who are unsung or little remembered for worthy lives and deeds. One of these is Thomas Thompson, who no doubt thought of himself only as an Englishman though he lived in Monmouth County for more than six years as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the Church of England.[1] He described life and the scene in the New World as he knew and saw it in a letter to an unnamed friend in England. The lengthy letter was printed as a twenty-six page pamphlet, a copy of which is in the New Jersey Historical Society's Ely Collection of Rare Books.[2] The description of Monmouth County which he gives speaks for itself, and we reprint it in full.

Of the writer of the pamphlet, Thomas Thompson (1708-1773), a few facts about him will help us better understand what he wrote of New Jersey.[3] He was a graduate of Cambridge University in 1732 and could look forward to a comfortable career in England. He volunteered, however, while a fellow of Christ's College at Cambridge, for missionary duty in America. In May of 1745 he embarked in the *Albany,* a ship whose home port was New York, landing there nearly four months later. The next Sunday he preached at Trinity Episcopal Church in New York and the following week in Elizabeth, presumably at St. John's Church. The next day he "proceeded on my journey to *Monmouth* County in the *Eastern* Division of the Province . . ." He took the first opportunity to wait on Governor Lewis Morris at his home, "Kingsbury," in West Jersey. Thompson had three churches in the County—one each in the townships of Freehold, Shrewsbury, and Middletown—and also he officiated temporarily at *"Allen's* Town" in Upper Freehold. "These four

[1]The invaluable study by Nelson R. Burr, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 644-45, contains a biographical sketch of Thompson and elsewhere the histories of the churches he served.

[2]The full citation is *A Letter from New Jersey, in America, Giving Some Account and Description of that Province. By a Gentleman, Late of Christ's College, Cambridge.* London: Prin[t]ed for M. Cooper in Pater-noster-row. M,DCC,LVI. (Sabin 95531.).

[3]Most of the biographical data given here are taken from another book by Thompson, *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages by the Appointment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The One to New Jersey in North America, the Other from America to the Coast of Guiney.* London: Printed for Benj. Dod, at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane, near St. Paul's. MDCCLVIII. (Sabin 95529.) A copy of this book is also in the Ely Collection.

Townships," he wrote, "comprehend the whole County, although forty or fifty Miles in Length, and in some Parts of it considerably wide."

There was much to be done—churches to be built, congregations to be exhorted, trips to be made to distant groups,[4] slaves to be baptized, "errors" of dissenters to be combatted, schools to be encouraged, and much more. After five strenuous years Thompson felt that the cause of the church had advanced sufficiently that he could ask for reassignment to "a Mission to the Coast of *Guiney,* that I might go to make a Trial with the Natives, and see what Hopes there would be of introducing among them the Christian Religion." In the fall of 1751 the Rev. Mr. Samuel Cooke came to replace Thompson. Shortly thereafter he took leave of the congregation and "set out, the 13th of *November* 1751, for *New York,* from thence to go upon my Voyage to *Africa,* and at *Elizabeth* Town, waited on Governor *Jonathan Belcher* Esq; (who succeeded Colonel *Morris*) to pay my Respects to him before I left the Province." On November 25 he sailed on the *Prince William* directly to Africa. The owners of the vessel refused to charge him freightage for his luggage and equipment. Interestingly enough, the master of the vessel, Captain William Williams, was returning to Africa the son of a native king who had been educated and baptized in the civilized world. "We fell down to the Narrows, the Strait so called, which has *Staten Island* on the one Side, and *Long Island* on the other. The next Morning we sailed down the *Jersey Coast,* and stretched out to Sea." Thompson served in Africa for five years and returned to England where he served two parishes before his retirement.

[4]Among the places Thompson visited were "Manasquam" and "Barnagatt." The country through which he traveled was "all one Pine Forest." He went through a "Desart four times to a Place called *Barnagatt* . . . and preached at Places as I went along, where no Foot of a Minister had ever come . . . " *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages,* p. 18.

A

LETTER

FROM

NEW JERSEY,

IN

AMERICA,

GIVING SOME

ACCOUNT and DESCRIPTION

OF THAT

PROVINCE.

By a GENTLEMAN, late of
CHRIST'S College, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:
Prined for M. COOPER in Pater-noſter-row.
M.DCC.LVI.

A Letter from New Jersey, &c.

Sir,

I must own I have been guilty of a great neglect, in that having been so long abroad, I have never wrote to you in all the time; though I could assure myself from a large experience of your friendship, that it would not be unpleasing to you to hear how this country and climate have agreed with me. Therefore now that I have set pen to paper, I think I have more to do than one that has made his compliments in due time, and shall endeavour to entertain you with some account of this place and of the people, yet not intending an history, tho' I shall exceed the length of an epistle.

It was on the 29th day of August, 1745, when I arrived at New York, after a passage of seven weeks from England, having, through Divine Providence, happily escaped the perils of the seas, and the danger from privateers; and being snatched away from that scene of confusion happening by the rebellion, which broke out soon after I left England; so that I had not the discomfort of seeing my country in any part of that miserable broil.[5]

We were chased two days by a large ship near the Azores: we took it to be Algerine; and had he come up to us, we must have struck to him, not having the pass requisite to save us that compliment; and being chased very close, we had a dreary view of Barbary in imagination.

We passed the French fleet coming from Martinico, with a convoy of three men-of-war, and were very near them, but yet safe enough, having the wind-side of them, and a fresh gale.

I was very much pleased with the city of New York, as well as much obliged by the courtesy and hospitality, which the gentlemen and citizens of that place are deservedly applauded for, by all strangers. The city itself is not large, but populous, and is accounted the richest in all the British colonies.

I did not expect that this remote part of his majesty's dominions could show so much elegance and politeness as is to be seen here. Mr. Cowley in the preface to his poems mentions, that he had indulged the thoughts of going to America, to be there out of the world: and doubtless he would then have found, that he

[5]In *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages*, p. 2, Thompson says he sailed on May 8, which would mean a passage of almost four months.

had made an exchange very perfect to his mind. But if any one should now propose to himself the same thing, he would make this discovery by going over, that the ocean only divides one country from another, and that there is the world also beyond the seas.

The adjacent province of New Jersey, which I come now to give you some description of, has been settled a little above an hundred years. It is as well cultivated as any of the colonies, yet is much in dishabille, or at least seems so, to one that has not seen late settled places. I have imagined it like a world half emerged out of Chaos, and the farms which lye interspersed in the bosom of thick woods, resemble the fame of the sky after a tempest, when the clouds are breaking away and dispersing.

The pleasantest spots that you see here, are but homley beauties; and one finds none of these landscapes which our island of Great Britain affords. Almost where-ever you pass upon the roads, you are either in woods, or have woods on one side of you; and the view which is on the open side, is terminated within so near bounds as the breadth of a field or two, so that the horizon is hardley any where clear, and to view the country from an eminence, it seems to be almost all woods.

The roads in most places are very good, but then you travel in a maze, having neither mile-stone, nor Mercury for your direction; only here and there is a tree marked with the initial letter of the name of the next town, but so ill cut, that one can hardly know it to be an alphabetical character.

A few scattered houses make here a village; and in those towns where the buildings stand in line, they are not contiguous.

The capital town of this province is Perth Amboy. It's situation is very delightful. It has a fine harbour, but is a place of no trade, and very little of any business is done in it. Most of the houses in this country are wooden structures, compiled of pine boards, or cedar shingles. The houses of our gentry have a large thorow entry, with folding doors for coolness in the summer time, and here sit the wives and daughters at their work, like Minerva and her nymphs, without headdress, gown, shoes or stockings.

The people are naturally brisk, and of a lively temper. They stand much upon a footing of equality among each other* and

*Nemo magnopere eminet in novo populo. *Livy.*

those of the common sort, by conversing freely with persons in office and commission, acquire a knowledge of things and business, and receive a brightening, by which they are far superior to our countrymen of the same rank.

Religion is here divided into many sects and parties; and the men, who are extreme kind husbands, go commonly the way that the wife is of.

The justices of the peace are the great marriage-mongers in this country, and the expert ones tie the sacred knot with a little ceremony, and as quick dispatch, as Alexander cut the famous knot at Gordium; so that sometimes the parties are dismissed with the solemn pronounciation, when they are scarce joined together.

The poor Indians, who not much above an hundred years since were the people of the country, are now reduced to about that number of persons. They have a little town of their own, and some land at a place called Cranbury, and have lately been brought to confess christianity.

In the year 1727, their King Tantami was executed by the English law, for a murder. The general character of the Indians has been, that they were lovers of honesty, but cruel in their anger: and it has been said of them, as Mela says of the Axiacae,* Furari quid sit ignorant, ideoque nec sua custodiunt, nec aliena contingunt. But then they have been formerly such hunters for revenge, that when a quarrel was begun in blood, they pursued it with seeking life for life, and it was never ended, till the two families had extinguished one another.

The Indians were skilled in vegetable physick, but their leaping out of a hot house immediately into a pond, one would think too bold a plunge for the recovery of health.

In tilling the ground the heads of the arrows are often found which the Indians shot with, before they had guns. These are flints chipped into form and are very finished pieces; extremely well pointed, and having a little stem, by which they were fastened into the shaft. Dr. Plot mentioned that the likesort of piles have been frequently found in Scotland, and some in England.

Though the country is pregnant of iron, the Indians knowing

*Lib. ii. cap. 8.

no better, were fain to make stone serve the use of it, for the few instruments and utensils which their necessities called for; and these seem to be all the sorts they had, besides the arrows used by them in their hunting expeditions, viz. a pestle to beat out and pound their corn with, an ax and a tobacco pipe.

The poor people in general live better here than, I believe, most where, by the favour of the plenty and cheapness of provisions; besides, getting their children into good families by the time they are six or seven years of age, they have little experience of the charge of them, so that very few turn beggars, or go to seek their bread from home, but with their working tools upon their backs.

You must certainly think, that thefts and robberies cannot but be very rife among us, as these colonies are obliged to take all the rogues and villains that are yearly transported from the several jails in England. But I can assure you, it is much otherwise; and people think so little of the danger of these things, that many families never fasten their doors when they go to bed; and the good housewives, that have cloth in bleaching, never take it in at nights. As to picking of pockets, the practice is utterly unknown, and the roads are perfectly uninfested and secure.

But the wonder of this will evaporate, when I tell you, that none of the Newgate gentry are landed here, but always either in Virginia or some of the southern colonies, where however they are no calamity; for the masters of the transports make them all bind themselves by indenture to him for four years, and then sell them for that term, to any that will buy them: which however it proves, that these captains and their passengers are all of a stamp alike, yet is of this good, that it prevents them from being nusances, and pests; and they are obliged to honest labour; whereas if they were set ashore, and might strole where they please, they would soon fall to their old trades again.

The spring is here commonly late, but when the year does begin to dress, the ornaments of nature are out all at once. In a few days the scene is quite changed. The vast orchards are clad in a thick bloom, which makes the country look, and smell like a paradise.

The planters come slowly into the way of hedging. I have seen very little hawthorne planted here. Yet the climate and soil are

kindly to it, and this useful shrub may be cultivated to good effect, when the people can persuade themselves that they have need of it.

The country is well watered with fine streams and rivers, and every house has a draw-well.

The woods, although abounding with very beautiful birds, are the dullest of all sylvan scenes. The mocking bird is the mimick of them all, and a complete droll in his way. But nothing is so beautiful and diminutive, as that little feathered spark, the hummingbird, who with the most gallant address courts the daughters of the garden, in a coat of plumage, composed of the finest feathers.

A certain tree called sumach grows frequent here in swampy grounds, which is of so poisonous a quality, that the very air which blows from it is infectious, and will cause inflammations and swellings in the face, so that people are sometimes laid up for it, and cannot stir about their business for several days. The mention of this puts me in mind to speak of the barberry tree, which the planters reckon very pernicious to grain, especially, I think, what, and tell you that an whole field will be blighted where any of this shrub grows.

I have never heard of an earth-quake being felt in these parts, but only one, which was in the year 1736. The effects of lightening are frequent to be seen in riding thro' the country, by many stately trees blasted and killed with it; and the stress of it often falls to more considerable damage.

In summer time, for about two months, the air is bespangled every night with a kind of flies, which they call fire-flies. They are very much in swamps and woods of a wet soil, and in those gloomy places make an extraordinary appearance. Their light is not steady, but reciprocates; and in the silent night, hovering about in their bright form, they almost give the mind an impression of beings haunting there, of some higher note and consideration than an insect.

Dr. Plot mentions in his natural history of Staffordshire, that there have been [some] of these flies seen in England about the year 1678, but first noted to be in England by Mr. Ray.

The old country people that have removed to these parts, are

observed to be longer lived than those who are born here, few of whom live to any great age. I conceive the reason of this to be, that the natives are extremely subject to the tooth-ach, and lose their teeth early; for these are the guarantees of health, and when they begin to drop, one may then date it the fall of the leaf.

The plantations or farms that have been from the first settling of the country, retain the burying grounds still sacred to that use. And where estates are passed away, that privilege is reserved to the family to which they had belonged. The observing a farmer at his plough, near the inclosed spot where his fathers sleep in the dust, may give rise to various thoughts of a serious kind; but some will think no more of it, only that here is so much ground lying in mortmain, as might produce every time a full bushel of grain. It is mentioned by Cicero in his 2d book, De Legibus, of that famous republican Plato, that he did not allow any tillable land to be applied to funeral uses; but held that such ground only is proper to receive the remains of the dead which can be spared without detriment to the surviving. Land that can yield, and like a mother, dispense fruit, let no one, says he, infringe upon, neither living, no deceased.

This country's provisions are not of the best, but such as will relish very well with those that are not of too nice a palate. The people live chiefly upon salt meat and roots, of the same as grow in England, besides pompions and squashes, of which they eat plentifully and with their victuals. But their most reigning dish is maize ground, and boiled into a diet they call suppaun. With this the board is crowned three times a day. That young men grow strong by it, and the young women fair, and every age of life rejoices in it, as an wholesome and kindly food.

The beer that is made here is not pleasant to an English taste, nor is much drank but among the Dutch, who are brewers of it. They so infatuate their barley in the drying, that what is drawn from it is the very oil of smoke. The common liquor is cyder, which at different times of the year is as fluent as water, and as scarce as wine.

The people are not nice in cultivating good fruit, only apples and peaches, which latter grow all upon standard trees, in great plenty, and come to great perfection. The pears are trash, except

their scarcity makes them any thing. The same are the plumbs. There is no want of cherries, but of good ones.

It is very remarkable that dogs never are known here to go mad, notwithstanding the summers are so very hot; and yet in Pennsylvania, which is a neighbouring province, it is very common. This being so, I am induced to think that madness is originally and naturally incidental only to hounds, because there they keep such, and there are none in this province.

The pleasant weather of the autumn commonly lasts till the end of October, but sometimes as late as Christmas. Then the winter takes possession, and puts on the tyrant's face the first day.

A good farm raises and manufactures all it's provisions, vis. bread, flesh, drink, cloaths, firing, candles, soap, tobacco, and has all it's work done by it's own slaves.

Some of the negroes have among them a strange art of poisoning, though not common in the instances of it, but very mysterious, and much like what is related of the Italian pharmacy. It is mentioned by Aulus Gellius* that something of this was known of old by the Carthaginians, who indeed were masters in every kind of villainy.

The woods and swamps breed several kinds of wild beasts, as wolves, panthers, bears, racoons, but these are so rare, that people passing through these places, are in little danger or fear of them.

The clearing woodland for tillage is a much less work than cutting down every tree. The emperor Severus in clearing the lands in Britain, lost 50000 of his men; but the American planters spare their men, and only kill the trees. They cut up the brush, and saplings, and leave the timber trees, having girt, that is, cut them round their bole, to fall of themselves as they decay, and then immediately go to ploughing and sowing among them.

I think I can aver it, of the people of this province, that they are generally well affected to the British constitution as they are very happy under the influences of the present reign, which indulges them in all the advantages and privileges, all the ease and freedom, that any people can enjoy.

I will conclude this epistle with an account of that infamous

*Noctes Atticae, lib. 6. cap. 4.

reptile, the rattle snake, which is the most dangerous reckoned of any poisonous creature known in this part of the world.

The rattle snake hardly ever measures out six feet in length. He has a gorgeous skin or coat, that may vie with any rich brocade. His summer's haunt is in meadows and swampy grounds among long grass, Coluber mala gramina pastus. During the winter season he harbours in the ground, or in the sides of hills where there are craggy stones. They are said to lye up a number of them together. Their age may be known by the number of rings upon their tail. But it is certainly a mistake, that the rings grow single, one every year. By this account, some that I have seen must have been eight or ten years old. But having had the curiosity to take in pieces one of these rattles, I found the parts which must be of one year's growth, to consist of two rings and a small tip. The next year there grows such another part under the first which thrusts it off from the flesh, and it remains like a cap upon it, that protuberance which is next the tip holding it on. In like manner the succeeding growths are produced. This curious member nature has designed for giving persons warning, when they happen unwarily to approach near the snake. A man has just time to recollect himself, and stop his pace before he comes in immediate danger to be bit by it, which will be within the distance of the snake's length. For if he lay at his full stretch before, as soon as any one comes near him, he draws himself in, and is wound up in a close coil, with his tail pointed upward, and his head laid back; and he gives his rattle such a brisk agitation, that it sounds like the tremulous motion of a musical chord: and then if the person does not stop, or divert his course, he instantly flings out upon him. The teeth of this animal are curved, exquisitely fine and sharp, two on each side the gum, and are shut-up like a cat's claw, till when he goes to bite. Sometimes the mowers happen to straddle over them and receive no hurt; but they always give the signal, when they are prepared for mischief.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant
T. T.

The Freneau-Hopkinson Quarrel

PHILIP MARSH

When, just out of Princeton, young Philip Freneau first visited Philadelphia in the early 1770's, Francis Hopkinson was an established member of the city's aristocracy, having wed Ann of the well-known Bordentown Bordens, and thus become the brother-in-law of the influential Thomas M'Kean; besides, he was the absentee collector of customs at Newcastle, a lawyer, and a shopkeeper; presently he was to be councillor to Governor William Franklin, and justice of the peace, in New Jersey. A few years later, he was even better known as the author of songs, and a prose satire of England, "A Pretty Story," often called the first American short story; and as the designer of seals, paper money, and the American flag. After 1776, a signer of the Declaration and chairman of the Navy Board and treasurer of loans, he was very prominent. Now a regular contributor to newspapers in verse and Addisonian essays, he seemed to be just the sort of success that Freneau himself wished to become.[1]

It has been natural for historians to speculate about their possible friendship, particularly since, like Freneau, Hopkinson wrote patriotic and satiric verse, and essays imitating the *Spectator*. In fact, their literary output is strikingly similar; one may well wonder whether one influenced the other, or whether they followed the same models.[2] Perhaps both surmises are true.

Whether they were friends or not has never been settled. Up to now no positive evidence has appeared. In some ways they were alike, especially in their predilection for satire and their disapproval of England—yet in others quite different. Freneau was always poor, disliked fashionable society and its display, and

The Writer: Dr. Marsh, a member of the English Department, Miami University, is well known as an authority on Philip Freneau, whose writings have appeared in the Proceedings and other journals.

[1]George Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926). Hopkinson, incidentally, was fifteen years older than Freneau, having been born in 1737.

[2]P. M. Marsh, "Philip Freneau and Francis Hopkinson," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, July, 1945.

preferred the company of the radical Whigs. Hopkinson sought wealth, was related to Lord North, friendly with the Tory governor of New Jersey, William Franklin, and associated with the political conservatives. In fact his place in society was largely due to having solicited and won fat salaried positions; from 1779 on, among other things, he was a judge of the admiralty at five hundred pounds and fees per year. Obviously his fortunes were closely allied with government men who were able to continue him in office. Personally very small, gentle, and humorous, he was shocked at the radicals' tendency, in Philadelphia of the early 1780's to berate the opposition in personal and vulgar terms. This kind of abuse characterized the *Freeman's Journal,* with which Freneau was associated for about a year, 1781 to 1782.

Francis Bailey had established the *Journal* in 1781 as a newspaper and an outlet for political expression, preferably Whig; and he promised immunity to all contributors. It was not long before they—probably Joseph Reed (former president of the state), Jonathan Sergeant (attorney-general), Thomas M'Kean (chief justice), George Bryan (a supreme court judge), and other active Whigs—were embroiled with the conservatives. friends of John Dickinson. These were, according to a *Journal* writer,[3] James Wilson, Benjamin and Jacob Rush, Fallon (a priest), one Vannost, and Frank Johnson, active in writing for Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer.* Also the *Pennsylvania Packet* and occasionally the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* opposed the *Journal.* At this time Hopkinson was writing mostly for the *Packet.*

About the first of August, 1781, it seems that Freneau joined the *Journal* staff. In his old age, he said he edited the paper at this time,[4] though he omitted the dates. However, we can place the time with fair accuracy from the editorial style, which began to resemble his then, and the first flood of his contributions, which soon followed. Bailey, the responsible publisher and editor, wrote in a plan, unliterary manner with little attempt at entertainment. Freneau's manner was lively, literary, enter-

[3]Note by "A. B." (Freneau?) introduced the "revelation," *Freeman's Journal,* December 11, 1782, retort to a similar expose reprinted from the *Gazetteer,* about the *Journal's* contributors.

[4]Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1941), p. 86.

taining, and likely to be sharply sarcastic. A sample of Bailey follows, in a retort to the royal printer of New York, Rivington:[5]

Dear Mr. Rivington, are there any hopes that your king will listen to or grant any of these "important points"? We have been all anxiety these several days past on that score; but seem somewhat relieved by late accounts from the southward, which lead us to suppose his majesty's disposition has privately directed Mr. Cornwallis to withdraw the troops "quartered there without the consent of the assemblies"; but the stubborn old wretch (I am mad at him) has taken the edge off the favour, by refusing to budge 'till Fayette forced him to it.

The issue of August 8, 1781, carried the Freneau mark in comments on the New York news:[6]

"Two-thirds of the fresh hay produced on the islands of New-York, Staten-Island, and Long-Island!" a very modest demand truly!—*"All persons whatsoever* possessed of hay are *required to bring* the above proportions into the king's magazines." Good again,—not only demand two-thirds of the people's hay, but oblige them to take it to the magazines! And, "this quantity *must* be furnished *without any deduction* . . ." Huzza, for BRITISH LIBERTY! There you have it,—neat as imported.—Ah, you rebel rogues! . . .

And from here on, known Freneau poems and essays appear in quantity.

The prose style of Freneau has distinctive characteristics that make it fairly easy to spot. It is dotted generously with Latinisms, Greek, English, and French references, quotations, and allusions, motto-beginnings and verse-endings, negatives and "un-words," nautical terms, superlatives and all-inclusives, dramatic and imaginative phrases, and alliterative and rhythmic lines. He uses certain words habitually: *thee* and *thou, abode, animadversions, arrant, calumny, candid, deem, heinous, malevolent, melancholy, lucubrations, mode, parcel,* or *set* of men, *sycophant, thence, trifling, vast, yoke,* etc. Almost no other newspaper writers of his time wrote as he did. In his early formation of a prose style, he took more liberties in satire than later, and sometimes became vulgarly sarcastic.

On December 11, 1781, the French minister entertained

[5]Issue of July 4, 1781.

[6]Comments in this manner had also appeared, apparently for the first time, in the issue of August 1.

Washington, his wife, and a group of friends by an "oratorio" called "The Temple of Minerva." This was written by Hopkinson,[7] and was elaborately reported in the Philadelphia papers. In Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of New York for January 5, 1782, it was vulgarly parodied as "The Temple of Cloacina," the overture called "Overturd," and with "The Genius of France, the Genius of America, and the High Priest of Cloacina" singing "TRI-OH!"— all by one "M. G."[8] In the *Packet* for February 9, "F.H.," who was doubtless Hopkinson, wrote as if he were sure he knew the parodist:

> I have seen your *humble attempt at scurrility* . . . If my antagonist chuses to skulk behind a dunghill, the laws of literary war do not call upon me to follow . . . But I have a more serious reason for avoiding *you* . . . A *sense of gratitude for former favours, and a still subsisting friendship on my part,* render the combat altogether unequal . . .
>
> F. H.

This confessed attachment to a probable Tory evoker, in the *Journal* of March 6, a rebuke (very likely by Freneau) from "X.Y.Z.":

> Let me advise you as a friend to forbear writing, in future, such pieces . . . what I particular refer to, is your public profession of *"friendship"* for . . . a man, who has been from the beginning of the contest one of the most bitter enemies to your country . . .
>
> X. Y. Z.

Who was the parodist? Some Philadelphians thought him Jonathan Odell, the stern Tory satirist preacher. But for the *Journal* of February 20, "F. H." sent a note saying he "never believed" Odell was the parodist, with a letter to Bailey from Odell himself:

> A certain *Parody,* with which the *Temple* of *Minerva* was lately *profaned,* is said to be the production of that wolf in sheeps cloathing, Parson Odell . . . I have no sort of title to that production.

And "M. G." himself—in the *Royal Gazette* for the 23rd—in

[7]Hastings, *op. cit.,* pp. 314-17.

[8]Hastings says the piece was sent to Rivington by a Philadelphia contributor, but gives no evidence.—*Ibid.,* p. 317. More likely the author was a Tory residing in New York for safety; he refers to Washington as "the upstart WASHINGTON."

effect denied Odell's authorship, referring to an FJ writer of January 23:[9]

> Uncertain as you must have been who was the Author, and certain as you were that that gentleman could not merit such a character, one might have expected . . . you would at least have suspended your calumny until you had the clearest proof . . .
>
> M. G.

So, "M. G." was not Odell. Others thought he was the former Tory governor and friend of Hopkinson, William Franklin.

On April 2, 1782, in the *Packet,* Hopkinson as "Calumniator" —posing as a professional scandal-writer—presented a clever satire of *The Freeman's Journal,* "A Parody of a Scene in Macbeth," a take-off of the famous witch scene. In place of three witches, he created three scribblers; the magic brew was printer's ink for scandal; and their song, instead of "Double, double toil and trouble," was

> Around, around, around
> About, about, about;
> All ill come running in,
> All good keep out.

Into the cauldron—here, a printers' ink pot—they threw seeds of discord and hate, snake slime, gangrene, spleen, essence of gall nuts (lawyers' ink), some wit, scum, excrement, etc., to make the "infernal ink." Finally, Morpheus rose, commended their work, added three quills plucked by the Furies from a goose, and pronounced his benediction:

[9]This writer was undoubtedly Freneau, as he wrote both as editor in the news column and in Freneau's manner; incidentally, Rivington had been advertising a "portable," condensed soup:

"A piece of poetical entertainment having been inserted in our journal of the 19th ult. Mr. Rivington has been obliging enough to copy part of it into his Gazette of the 5th instant, with a Parody, said to be the production of that wolf in sheep's cloathing, parson Odell. It is entitled, The Temple of Cloacina; a regard to common decency, however, will not permit us to return Mr. Rivington's compliment: But we beg leave to recommend a new title for that Parody, viz. *Rivington's Royal Portable Soup thoroughly digested.* By their earnest addresses to Cloacina, the poor New York gentlemen must be in a most deplorable *habit of body*:

> "Cloacina! hear their prayer,
> Make that *dirty crew* thy care;
> Lodge them, goddess, every man,
> Prisoners in thy close-stool pan."

Whilst I with vapours cloud the brain,
ALECTO shall inspire;
Thus in your works will dullness reign,
Warm'd with malignant fire.
And now your former labours you may burn all
And daily scribble for the FREEMAN's JOURNAL.

The writer concluded by boasting that there was not among the writers for the *Journal,* "the UN-INFLUENCED PAPER, a man better qualified than myself to be a general CALUMINATOR."

The *Journal* could hardly let this insult, however humorous, pass by. And of course its active editor, Freneau, would not see the situation in the same perspective. In fact, it seems he disliked Hopkinson heartily, immediately suspected him to be the author, and now had an excuse to explode—so did so with all the venom at his command, in the issue of April 10, as "A Hater of Sycophants." The writer exposed "Calumniator" as Hopkinson, Tory sympathizer, sycophant, and liar, and affected to see in him a reptilic ambition to become a press licenser, so as to crush the anti-Tory *Journal:*

"Ecce iterum Crispinus." Juvenal Sat.

. . . I am very apprehensive that some little, dirty, office hunting reptile will, in a short time, be appointed *Licenser of the Press,* with a salary about three times as large as that of a judge of the admiralty, judge of the high court of errors and appeals, and a trustee of the university, all put together. I think a certain *flabbergasted Musician,* the author of CALUMNIATOR . . . has his eye upon this office, and, if cringing, fawning, lying, flattering, fetching, and carrying of scandal, with an admirable adroitness at reasoning with great men *a posteriori,* can bring it about, he will certainly succeed.

. . . The late governor Franklin was the object of his fulsome adulation whilst he was in office. Since his fall, they have turned their backs on one another. Every body knows what has happened between them of late The quondam governor has *brought him to* with a volley of thick and thin that has made the whole country stop their noses, and the wretched Calumniator . . . has bowed down and begged pardon, and called the sweet operator his dear friend . . . That prothonotary, with his pipe of tobacco, is enough to stink one to death! . . .

. . . Time was that governor Franklin was able to introduce him to the board of commissioners of the customs at Boston . . . Worship the rising sun: never quarrel with the devil till you know whose hands you are

most likely to fall into. CALUMNIATOR must have some office or other . . . for he was never able to get his living without it . . .

To conclude, if this gentleman should carry his point, and be invested with his new dignity,—mercy on the Freeman's Journal—he'll dash it to hell at once . . . It is even probable he would do his utmost to procure an edict, that the words FREEMAN'S JOURNAL should never be again printed; and as the last effort of his malice, collect all the numbers together, at least those that mention his own name, or the names of the titular gov. Franklin, parson Odell, and his other friends, burn them by the hands of the common hangman, and scatter the ashes to the four winds.

A HATER OF SYCOPHANTS.

And just below, signed "CALUMNIATOR," was a mocking poem—probably by Freneau—a parody of Thomas Moore's "Little Man and Little Soul," submitted lest the printer of the *Packet* grow vain from a monopoly of the writer's productions; the first stanza:

> There was a little judge,
> And he woo'd a charming goddess,
> And he said, Charming goddess,
> Will you wed, wed, wed.

The poem goes on for seven stanzas—and it finally appears that the "goddess" was once more the filthy Cloacina! And in the *Journal* for April 24, "The High Priest"—evidently Freneau again—begged Bailey to stop:

For God's sake leave off! . . . we are ruined! What business have a parcel of low lived fellows to be prying into the politics of gentlemen! . . .

But softly! . . . let me reason with you . . . This *liberty of the press;*—it is a very mischievous thing. And then too it can do no good;—at least to our cause. Falsehoods are best circulated in private. I would not give a fig for all the presses in the world to tell lies in . . .

I have something more to tell you, Mr. Bailey. There are such things as douceurs . . . could not we come to a compromise? Suppose you should change the stile of your newspaper . . . You shall have *Parodies* to print and *Roratorios* and all the most odoriferous pindaricks . . . I have also by me . . . a Hymn to Power, an Ode to the Rising Sun, and a collection of Sir-Reverential Songs in double metre and set to the same tunes which are in use in the Low-Dutch churches in New York . . .

THE HIGH PRIEST.

Hopkinson did not reply to these blasts. On April 18 he contented himself with offering a "contract" to the printer of the *Packet,* for writing slander, referring to himself as "J. S. . . Calumniator-General," who, if a suit resulted, would "maintain and defend" the printer in the lawsuit. Evidently he thought of J. S., or Jonathan Sergeant, then state attorney-general, as the chief offender among the *Journal's* contributors.

There is no question that Hopkinson wrote the pieces by "Calumniator" in the *Packet.* The first is referred to by Hastings as "The Rise of the *Freeman's Journal*"[10]—though, as it originally appeared, it carried no such title. Yet Hastings accepts it and its sequel as Hopkinson's work,[11] as well as "F. H." as Hopkinson.[12]

It may be impossible to identify Freneau definitely as the *Journal* authors "X. Y. Z.," "A Hater of Sycophants," "Calumniator," and "The High Priest." But the circumstances, ideas, and style all point clearly to him. As assistant editor and active contributor, at least he approved of the pieces, and could easily have done them. Evidently he was given a free hand by Bailey in satirizing the Tories; and he had been contributing regularly to nearly every *Journal* issue since August, 1781, in both prose and poetry, including eighteen poems and thirteen essays known to be his,[13] besides at least ten other essays probably by him, and many short editorials. A study of his style reveals his characteristics in these 1782 items in question, as well as his tendency to lose poise and let satire degenerate into vulgar abuse. Later in the year he was to indulge in caustic verse in reply to "Foe of Tyrants," as "A Foe to Malice,"[14] ending with this couplet:

> In his own lines he toll'd his funeral knell,
> And when he could not *sing* he *stunk*
>
> FAREWELL.

[10]Hastings, *op. cit.,* p. 372.

[11]*Ibid.,* p. 373, notes. Hastings says the manuscript of the first is at Huntington Library, and accepts the second as by the same hand. He says nothing about the reaction in the *Journal.*

[12]*Ibid.,* p. 318.

[13]Leary, *op. cit.,* pp. 424-27.

[14]*Ibid.,* pp. 112-15.

A fairly careful perusal of the *Journal* reveals no style like Freneau's before his assumption of editorial duties—in the editorials—and none after he left (by November, 1782, he was a post-office clerk),[16] except in pieces either his known contributions or closely resembling them, so that they may well be called also his work.

Words and phrases in the above quotations ascribed to Freneau that remind us of him are—*farther* instead of *further, fulsome, quondam, procure, brought him to with a volley, wretched, invested, titular, parcel of low lived fellows, douceurs,* etc.—to say nothing of the plenteous alliteration, rhythmic phrasing, and hatred of great men (an almost habitual subject).

Apparently Hopkinson did nothing further to arouse the *Journal.* But later, probably in the spring of 1783, he wrote a long comic drama caricaturing Bailey, Freneau, Reed, M'Kean, Bryan, Potter, Sergeant, Rush, and Eleazer Oswald, proprietor of the *Independent Gazetteer,* which had staged a running feud with the *Journal,* nearly bringing Bailey and Oswald to a duel. In Hopkinson's funny play, the main characters are "Kitty" Oswald and "Fanny Belly," chambermaids in the house of Lady Pennsylva. They stage a rousing brawl, won by Kitty. Surely this would have vastly amused Philadelphians, but Hopkinson apparently did not publish it then; it appeared posthumously, in his collected works.[17] Doubtless he felt it would only create further acrimony and abuse.

Evidently Hopkinson regarded Freneau as irresponsible, hardly respectable. On the other hand, later Freneau recalled Hopkinson with little reverence, referring to him as "Francis Fiddlestick."[18] He would hardly be proud of a vulgar display of temper, and so would not honor the incident by republishing his performances.

After 1782, Hopkinson wrote little for the press. He greatly regretted the scurrility then in fashion, though he indulged

[15] *Freeman's Journal,* September 11, 1782

[16] Fred L. Pattee, "Philip Freneau as Postal Clerk," *American Literature,* March, 1932.

[17] Francis Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings* (Philadelphia, 1792; 3 vols.), "A Full and True Account of a Terrible Uproar . . . ," I, 297-326. Hastings, *op. cit.,* p. 379, note, says he did not find it in the Philadelphia press.

[18] Leary, *op. cit.,* pp. 121 and 380, note 64.

somewhat himself. Often a contributor as "A.B.," very likely he wrote the following protest:

Mr. Bailey,

I remember to have read an observation in some English book to the following effect; that nothing has disgraced the memory of some of the celebrated authors . . . so much as their descending to low humour and disgusting invective . . . What will the polished and delicate Europeans . . . think of us, when some publications of Philadelphia (the emporium of America, the seat of benevolence, phlosophy and the muses) . . . are found to be replete with odious ideas, and the most vulgar and illiberal abuse!—For God's sake . . . let us be decent . . .

A. B.

He always had disliked newspaper quarrelling, and wrote ridicules of it, apparently, in the hope of lessening it.[20]

As for Freneau, in 1782 he was a neophyte, and had not learned to take rival criticism in stride. In fact he never did find the cynical patience to meet "yellow journalism" and political attacks philosophically, but was continually losing his temper as editor of the *National Gazette* (1791-1793), and the *Time Piece* (1797). Even at the age of fifty-seven, as "Robert Slender" in the *Aurora* of 1799 to 1801, though he affected an aloofness and playful ignorance of politics, he frequently, often as the "Latinist," his neighbor, would wax oratorical and passionate. He was always too ready to express a biased indignation; he could not bear criticism.

Viewing 1782 Philadelphia in retrospect, we can see that Freneau evidently picked a quarrel with the gentle Hopkinson, and by vulgar abuse drove that well meaning conservative into a period of political silence. He hated sycophants, and doubtless was sure that Hopkinson was one. Later he expressed the same contempt for John Fenno, Yankee editor of the Federalist-patronized *Gazette of the United States,* almost continually from the spring of 1792 to the fall of 1793. So he wrote of and to his rival contemptuously:[21]

[19] *Freeman's Journal,* February 28, 1787. See Hastings, *op. cit.,* pp. 421 ff.

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 421 ff.

[21] *National Gazette,* July 28, 1792. "Pomposo" is meant for John Adams, whom Freneau thought to have been the founder of the *Gazette of the United States;* there seems to be no evidence to support the charge.

SINCE the day we attempted the NATION'S GAZETTE
Pomposo's dull printer does nothing but fret . . .

* * *

No *favours* we ask'd from *your friends* in the east;
On your wretched soup-meagre I left them to feast—
So many base lies you have sent them in print
That scarcely a man at our paper will squint:
And now you begin
With a grunt and a grin,
With the bray of an ass,
And a visage of brass,
With a quill in your hand and a lie in your mouth
To play the same trick on the men of the south.

One National Paper, you think, is enough
To flatter and lie, to pallaver and puff;
To preach up in favour of monarchs and titles,
And garters, and ribbons, to prey on our vitals:
And make Mr. Fenno the grand patentee!
Then take your scrapers
Other national papers—
No rogue shall go snacks,
And the NEWSPAPER-TAX
Shall be puffed to the skies
As a measure most wise—
So a spaniel, when master is angry and kicks it,
Sneaks up to his shoe, and submissively licks it.

In this open contempt for slavish and sycophantic behavior, Freneau, "A Hater of Sycophants," and his fellow persecuters of Hopkinson in 1782 were clearly blood brothers—in fact, probably one and the same person.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

BY THE STAFF

GIFTS to our society seem to come in an unending flow, a fact gratifying to those of us who see its day-to-day activities. The past summer has been no exception. Among the most noteworthy acquisitions is a large (thirty-two-by-forty-inch) water color, "Molly Pitcher Offering Her Services at the Battle of Monmouth, 1778," signed by A. Forst. The scene is realistic and the sense of battle has been felt by those who have seen the picture. A unique nineteenth-century cooking apparatus with a clock jack where meat was hung and rotated in front of the fire is another welcome gift.

The estate of Dr. William R. Ward, former president, presented a piano of the 1830 period. A complete wool spinning wheel used by the Crane family of Essex County for more than two hundred years is another recent gift. An addition has been made to our transportation collection consisting of signs, bells, signals, posters, etc., of early trolley cars.

For a few moments on an early September day the staff thought of loaning a bathing suit for use at the Miss America contest in Atlantic City. The suit is one originally used in 1883. One viewer described it as like a potato sack with a string to draw it tight around the neck! In the library, a bequest of more than one hundred books and pamphlets has been received from the late John D. Alden through his nephew, Douglas W. Alden of Princeton. There have been, of course, many other gifts no less valued and appreciated than the few that could be mentioned.

Our custodian, Mr. Dennis, in July painted the first floor hallways with a historic wall paint "Palace Guardroom Green," a Colonial Williamsburg hue. This project was sponsored by the Women's Branch.

A selection of early twentieth-century postcard views of New Jersey towns was exhibited in the library during the summer. The town names were covered and visitors had difficulty guessing the localities, so great have been the changes in fifty years. Among other staff activities were suggestions given to Colonial Publishing, Inc. of Boston, for pictures and captions of historic New Jersey places for their 1957 *New Jersey Date Book*.

Plans are well advanced for a fall exhibit featuring furniture, paintings, silver, china, and manuscripts of Mahlon Dickerson, nineteenth-century governor, senator, and secretary of the navy. Details of this year's annual meeting to be held on October 31 will be announced through the mails.

The Society welcomed its new director, Mr. Robert M. Lunny, on the first of October. Mr. Lunny brings a rich background of museum experience to us. He was associate director of the Truxtun-Decatur Naval Museum on Lafayette Square in Washington and for the past year has been curator of the Delaware State Museum in Dover. Mr. Lunny had a distinguished career as a naval officer during and following World War II and previously did graduate study in history at the University of Pennsylvania.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

Local historical activities continued apace this summer. The Camden County Historical Society issued an attractive announcement of its fall pilgrimage held on September 22. A motorcade visited Tomlinson's Old Grist Mill, St. John's Episcopal Church, and Cedarbrook Farm. On October 26-28, the Archeological Society of New Jersey, in observance of its twenty-fifth anniversary, will be host to delegates of the Eastern States Archeological Federation, representing fifteen states and the province of Ontario. Sessions for about 250 delegates will be held at Princeton and Trenton. A gift souvenir envelope (including literature about New Jersey Historical Society) will be distributed.

The Ocean County Historical Society, led by Josephine Hopkins, president, will play an active role in planning and directing a special two-year observance of the centennial of Barnegat Lighthouse throughout 1957-58. Mrs. Olga Atkins, state supervisor of historic sites, is liaison representative for the state, and the Ocean County Board of Freeholders has officially noticed the celebration with a resolution. The lighthouse was built by George Gordon Meade, later a hero at the Battle of Gettysburg. Plans are well advanced for a centennial commission, a request to issue a lighthouse stamp, to unveil a bronze statue of the builder, and for the return of the original lens assembly now at the Rosenwald Museum in Chicago.

The Bergen County Historical Society announces the acquisition of an old wagon jack, hand-made of wood, used for changing a wheel on a carriage or wagon and a sleigh with a complete set of brass bells. Both items were used in the county. These and other items will be seen in the "Red Barn" which was built about 1800 and recently moved near the Steuben House.

A horse-drawn carriage was entered in the Ridgewood July 4th parade by the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society. Miss Jean Lampe and George Demarest rode in costume in the closed "Rockaway." An exhibit of postcards and timetables during the summer showed resorts of yesterday and today from Green Pond to Cape May. On Saturday, October 6, the 150-year-old Wyckoff Reformed Church will be featured on the Eighth Annual Pilgrimage Tour. Six private homes in Wyckoff and

Franklin Lakes Township will be open to the public from 1 to 5 P.M.

The Pascack Historical Society in Park Ridge, Bergen County, has added more than eighty members in the past year. This increase is accounted for in part by its attractive publication, *Relics,* which has been issued for the past year. The first meeting of the fall season was held on September 17.

An oil painting of President Grant, presented by his grandson, now hangs in the Long Branch Historical Museum, "The Church of the Presidents," in Elberon. A sportsman's show, at which trophies, mounted specimens of wild-life, boats, cars, planes, and guns were exhibited, was held August 25-27. Plans are being formulated for a fall harvest festival.

A colonial memorial entrance to the Nutley Museum was completed this summer, and a memorial pathway of shrubbery has been planted. A feature during June was an exhibit of art by Nutley Senior High School students.

The splendid activity of the Cumberland County Historical Society as co-sponsor of the New Jersey Historical Conference was reported in our last issue.

The spring pilgrimage of the Burlington County Historical Society was held on May 26. At Atsion Mr. J. C. MacDonald, superintendent of the Wharton Tract, met the group. He told them the history of Atsion, of the Mansion (built 1826) and the country store (1827), and opened the buildings for the visitors. He then led the way to Batsto where the party had a picnic lunch on the lawn of the Mansion. Afterward Mr. MacDonald told them about the Wharton Tract area and the state's plans for its development. The Mansion, the farm buildings, the old mill, and other parts of the estate were open for inspection.

The group then went to the Pleasant Mills Church (built 1808) where Mrs. George H. Eckhardt of the Atlantic County Historical Society told the history of the settlement and of the church. Next they visited the Paper Mill Playhouse and the Kate Aylesford Mansion (built 1762), opened through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Ray Baker.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

A study entitled "The Role of Commodore [Robert F.] Stockton in the Conquest of California" has been undertaken by Vincent J. Capowski who would appreciate information about letters, diaries, etc., or other sources of information. Communications may be addressed to him at Mahoney Place, North Tarrytown, New York.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

In the April PROCEEDINGS this department carried an article on "Rewards of Merit" by Harry B. Weiss. "Antiquer's Attic" is fortunate in receiving another contribution from this very busy researcher, who was director of the Division of Plant Industry at Trenton until his recent retirement. As Mr. Weiss points out in the article appearing here, rattles have had various uses throughout the centuries. In the collections of the Newark and Montclair museums are rattles connected with religious ceremony and ritual dance. Baby rattles are far more scarce and few are those that come to rest in any museum.

Do you, kind reader, have a baby rattle that should be cherished in a museum's collection? It need not be a gold rattle with a "gum stick" of coral such as Robert Feke represented in his portrait of "Isaac Royall and Family." Painted in 1741, this portrait is now owned by Harvard Law School. A fond wife and mother living in the vicinity of Newark has carefully preserved two baby rattles used by her husband and daughter. The older one dates from the 1890's and is of wood originally painted white. To it are attached eight bells of the type we associate with sleighs. The twentieth-century version has a sterling silver handle bearing sharp tooth marks, and a ring of mother-of-pearl from which several small bells were originally suspended. It has remained for Mr. Weiss to point out to us the reasons why "gum stick" and noise-making devices were combined in a baby's rattle.

AMERICAN BABY RATTLES

HARRY B. WEISS

Rattles in addition to amusing babies—and one questions just how much a baby is amused—have been used for many other purposes, such as religious ceremonies and primitive ritual dances. Rattles were sometimes associated with the working of magic, but their most extensive early use was as musical instruments of primitive man. For this purpose all sorts of hollow receptacles were used containing pebbles, seeds, or the like. Many of these rattles were decorated with

Baby Rattles: (1) Hollow, tin, drum-shaped rattle; words "For a Good Child" surrounding an eagle embossed on each flat side; curved part of head carries letters of alphabet; *circa* 1825 and later; length 5 inches. (2) Hollow, woven wicker dumb bell rattle; length $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches; little bells within each end; *circa* 1890. (3) Wooden rattle $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; *circa* 1825. (4) Twisted wire rattle carrying five open brass bells each with a blue bead clapper; wooden handle with whistle on end; length $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; *circa* 1880. (5) Colonial silver rattle or "coral and bell"; gum stick of red coral; $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long; hexagonal stem expanded into a bulbous portion below which are six closed silver bells; carries date 1728 9 and initials T.H. Owned by the late Wilbur Macey Stone of East Orange, N.J. (6) Gourd rattle; 6 inches long. Common in rural areas from early times to the present, but no longer popular.

carving, painting, feathers, and pendants, frequently with symbolic meaning.

The evolution of baby rattles is difficult to trace. We know that primitive peoples used noise to expel evil spirits. At one time, also, there existed a belief that branches of coral hung at the necks of infants would preserve them from danger. Coral was supposed to withstand lightning and to be protection against storms, tempests, and whirlwinds. Used as an amulet, it was a protection against enchantment, epilepsy, and witchcraft. Soon after a baby was born, it was customary to place a coral necklace or a piece of coral on the infant's neck for its medicinal and protective values. Add to this the use of noise produced by jangling objects to frighten away evil spirits, and it was only a short step to combine these objects in the form of a coral necklace with bells, or else a piece of coral with bells attached so it could be carried and shaken. From then on, the structure varied, but one or both basic qualities remained even though no longer believed in, or though the original magical significance was forgotten.

In the ancient days of Greece and Rome, children played with rattles. An Egyptian pottery rattle, dating from 2000-1000 B.C., is in the form of a hollow cow. A rattle found at Pompeii had a handle or "gum stick" of ivory, and a metal circle carrying bells at intervals. Later rattles were constructed with a handle or "gum stick" of coral, rock crystal, agate, ivory, bone, or mother-of-pearl, which aided the baby in cutting its teeth, hence the term "gum stick." At the end opposite the handle there would be a whistle and between the two a circle of bells or other noise-making device.

In paintings of children by Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Holbein, and Velasquez, one frequently discerns a rattle held in the hand of a small sitter. These were usually very ornate rattles of chased gold or silver with "gum sticks" of semi-precious stone. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries baby rattles used in wealthy families were known as "baby's bells," "whistle-bells," or "coral and bells." To attract the attention of the infant and provide amusement, the nurse blew the whistle and jingled the bells—or perhaps it was the other way around.

Many elaborate rattles, made by foreign gold- and silversmiths, were imported from England and the Continent by the American colonists. Sometimes these were advertised in colonial newspapers. Many of these imported rattles were ornamented with floral designs, scenes of animals and children at play, nursery rhymes, the baby's name and date sometimes engraved on the silver handle. The silver bells that adorned them were often made in hexagonal rather than spherical shape and ornamented with engraving. Few of these rattles carry the identifying marks of a silversmith. To a collector the varieties of shape and design seem endless, and as these silver rattles

were never discarded it is possible to collect them more easily than rattles of wood or tin.

Wooden rattles of a date before 1800 are scarce and their rate of survival is much smaller than for those made of tin. Even the early tin ones are by no means plentiful. Also scarce are the early wicker rattles and those of twisted wire which, becoming easily bent, were apparently not worth saving, even by a sentimental mother.

Celluloid rattles, both of domestic and foreign manufacture, have been sold in America for many years. John Wesley Hyatt, the inventor of celluloid, obtained a patent in 1869 and started manufacturing this substitute for ivory at Newark, New Jersey, in 1872. Celluloid rattles were not long-lived. Even if unused, they became brittle over a period of years and were easily broken. For this reason, rattles dating prior to 1900 are hard to find. Some of the celluloid rattles of 1930-40, both the American-made and the imported, were decorated with colored nursery characters and gave forth musical sounds when shaken. Many present-day plastic rattles, although more durable than the earlier ones of celluloid, have drifted away from the conventional form with its "gum stick" and bells. With their more fantastic colors and shapes, such as of birds in a cage, they seem designed to attract the attention of adults. As for helping a baby to cut teeth, they are quite useless. They are not made to be chewed upon and they don't make much noise either, so, from a baby's viewpoint, they are probably worthless.

Collectors of baby rattles are not numerous, for one reason or another. Perhaps it is because the early rattles of wood, tin, or silver are not so easily found as are other collectable objects. Nevertheless, the variety and design of the wooden and silver ones are worth attention and worth collecting, even if they are only from fifty to seventy-five years old. The early silver rattles of European make and dating from the seventeenth or eighteenth century are elaborate, interesting, and correspondingly expensive. Some wooden rattles are of intricate make, appreciated more by adults than by children.

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

In this department are combined short articles based on holdings of the Society's library, and listings of new publications about New Jersey. The contributors, Mr. Shelley and Miss Studley are, respectively, librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society and principal New Jersey librarian of the Newark Public Library.

FROM THE LIBRARY

FRED SHELLEY

One of the "Indians" who burned tea taken from the *Greyhound* at Greenwich in 1774 was Dr. Ebenezer Elmer (1752-1843).[1] The monument honoring the tea-burners, which many of us saw at the sixth Historical Conference last May, lists Elmer among other known participants. After Revolutionary service on the expedition to Canada and in battles from Germantown to Yorktown, Elmer was elected to the state legislature (twice he was speaker) and from 1801 to 1807 he represented South Jersey at Washington as a Jeffersonian. Printed on the following pages is an extract from a rare pamphlet[2] published at the close of his Congressional service and three letters he wrote while in office.[3] The letters contain a degree of heat reflected from the hot political fires of the first Jefferson administration while the extract reveals the balanced view of a patriot who had served his country in many capacities. The Society's library possesses other materials of Cumberland County interest, notable among which is the Revolutionary War journal kept by Elmer.[4]

From *An Address to the Citizens of New-Jersey*:[5]

"Diversity of opinions must prevail with respect to many points in governing a free people; but, without attempting to bring them all to one standard, they may be so combined as to answer every useful purpose. A building part Gothic, part Grecian, and part Chinese will stand well enough and answer every end for which it is built, until you attempt to square it into uniformity. Then indeed it will

[1]For biographical details, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 116; Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *History of the Early Settlement and Progress of Cumberland County* (Bridgeton, 1869), pp. 52, 64, 70; and Cushing and Sheppard, *History of the Counties of Gloucester, Salem, and Cumberland* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 536-40, 561-62.

[2]*An Address to the Citizens of New Jersey* (Elizabeth-Town, Shepard Kollock, 1807), 32 pp.

[3]In the Ely Autograph Collection.

[4]Printed in the Proceedings, II (1846-47), 95-146, 150-94, III (1847-48), 21-56, 90-102, and 10, New Series (1925), 410-424.

[5]Page 11.

fall in all the uniformity of ruin. Thus related are parties in a state. A stern patriot will never forsake the interest of his country because the man of his choice is not at the helm, nor because the plans which his own imagination may have delineated, are not in all instances pursued. Every intelligent man knows that the same end may, and often is encompassed by different means, according to circumstances. And no rational man can say, that a difference of opinion as to the policy of certain measures, not involving the vital principles of republicanism, ought to be construed as a condemnation of either party by the other. We have a recent instance [the Aaron Burr episode] to prove that no discontent on account of the Administration of the government can draw any considerable number of our citizens under the banner of disloyalty and conspiracy."

Letter of Ebenezer Elmer to George Burgin, March 5, 1802:

Washington City March 5. 1802

Sir,

From the day you left this place we were completely occupied with the Bill from Senate repealing the late Judiciary system, untill Wednesday evening when the final question on the passage was taken yeas 59 Nays 32.[6] A few members were out of the House at the time. Had all who are in the City been present the Votes would have been Ayes 62 Nays 35. The day before its passage amendments were brought in; some of them were no doubt proper, & three or four of my friends & myself voted for them—they were however rejected I think improperly. However the Bill without them is constitutional & expedient in my opinion. I therefore voted for it, as did all the other Republicans except Dr. Eustis[7] who on that very account gave it his negative. In the course of the debate the most violent abuse of the prevailing party, & especially of the Executive department, was uttered that ever I believe took place in any deliberate body before. It appeared evident they viewed the Judiciary as the last fastness of the party, that if they could maintain the doctrine of the absolute inviolability of the Judges it would at this time prove to them a strong hold indeed, as it is well know[n] the Judges are well prepared to join the party as far as their power extends in counteracting all the other constituted authorites of the Country. But they will be baulked in this as well as every other attempt at domination under the present Administration. They pretend to say the Judges will declare the Law unconstitutional & the operations of the old one will be continued. But that they do not believe. Even Judge Chase[8] says he believes Congress have the power, but it is a wanton exercise of it.

[6]The standard account of the history of this period is Henry Adams, *History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1930); see I, 455*ff*.

[7]William Eustis (1753-1825), of Massachusetts.

[8]Samuel Chase (1741-1811), of Maryland.

I expect the subject of Revenue will come forwards in a few days. It is probable the Internal Taxes will all be discontinued, but it seems to be regretted now that the abolition of them was brought into view at this Session. The opinion gains ground greatly that it would have been good policy to have continued them untill the 4th. of March next; however the Law for abolishing them will certainly pass our House, but I am not certain what time the system will cease operating. The Naturilazation Bill is now under consideration. No opposition to its progress has been made, & whether there will be much on the final passing is uncertain.

By Capt. Rogers[9] just arrived in the Chesapeake from Cape Francois [Haiti], we have the melancholy account that on the approach of the French Armament The whole of the Town with all the stores of every kind were destroyed by order of Touissant.[10] I saw a Letter from Mr. Lear our Consul.[11] He says that owning to the exertions of the American shipping few lives were lost, only one American; but very little property of any kind was saved. The General in Chief of the French forces applied to the Consul to assist him in obtaining supplies for the Army. A fine market will open for American produce, but the pay will not suit every one. The General has no money, he now draws bills on France, & expects in a few days to be authorized to draw on Holland. Probably if we had not contemplated reducing the revenue we might this year pay off the Dutch loan to great advantage.

My respects to Mr. Shull & all friends,

I am your Humble Sert.

EBEN. ELMER

I write in haste

[*Addressed*:] George Burgin Esqr.[12] / Bridgetown / to the care of / Mr. Owen.

Letter of Ebenezer Elmer, April 3, 1802, addressee unidentified:

Washington City April 3d. 1802

DR SIR,

Last evening I received your Letter of the 28th. Ult. A variety of alterations in the Post Roads in different parts of the United States has kept back the bill, but it is now on its passage.[13] I shall see that the rout[e] by Bridgetown to Cape May is established. No intermediate post from Woodbury to Bridgetown is mentioned in the bill. I left that open that the Post Master might have the power of altering the rout[e] if required. At first I thought of fixing the Post Offices with the Post Master

[9]John Rodgers (1773-1838) arrived in Baltimore in 1802 as a passenger on the *Pomona*.

[10]Touissant L'Ouverture (*ca.* 1746-1803), one of the liberators of Haiti.

[11]Tobias Lear, Jr. (1762-1816).

[12]George Burgin (1765-1813), then serving in the state Assembly from Cumberland County.

[13]See Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

General[14] here, but on reflection conclude it best to leave it to be settled by the Deputy at Philadelphia when he makes the Contract for carrying the Mail. With you I think it important to have an office in Deerfield, & shall mention it in the General information which I lodge in the office here.

From the violence with which the Judiciary was supported here, & the threats that were thrown out, I apprehended the emissaries of the party throughout the United the United [*sic*] States would be excited to make all the opposition to the measure in their power. But all will not do. It is a base & wicked opposition to Republicanism. Neither the Spirit nor Letter of the Constitution afford a specious colouring to the objections urged against the repeal. If the doctrines contended for were solid the Constitution would prove an easy stepping ladder to the most odious tyrany. I am with you convinced that the leaders of the present opposition will never yield to a republican administration. Like the Tories of England after the accession of the Hanoverian family, they possess talents & wealth; & they will never rest untill they have eradicated every vestige of the Soveriegnty of the people, or become so far weakened by time as to fall into insignificance. Their present conduct is peculiarly improper as it is indiscret violation of their late professions. Indeed it appears to me there is much moral turpitude concealed in the opposition. So fully am I now persuaded of this that I should esteem it my indispensible duty to with withdraw [*sic*] myself from any connection with or support of any teacher of Religion & Morality who should use the influence which his station gives him in supporting & defending the opposition. I do not mean by this to put any restrain upon private Judgment. They have an unquestionable right to this, but we do not employ those for any service who are disposed to perform it in direct violation of the wishes of those who require it. I can easily concieve of a very good man being more in favour of the late than the present administration; but I can hardly think such a man can be engaged in supporting the violent conduct of the present adverse party. Some latent depravity must, I think, lurk in every such heart, however fair his outward conduct in other respects may be, or whatever pretensions he may have to distinguished piety. I would not myself undertake to defend all the measures of the ruling party, & it cannot be required of every citizen to express his entire acquescence, but that is very different from a systematic opposition to every measure. I propose after the rising of Congress, if it should appear to be desirable, to draw up a brief view of the proceedings of the present Session, & furnish each of the lower County Committee with a Copy for general information.

I hope to be at home in about

[14]Gideon Granger (1767-1822), of Connecticut.

two weeks or three at farthest, & should be glad to see you at my House.

I am, Sir,

Your Humbl Servt.

EBEN ELMER

Letter of Ebenezer Elmer to David Moore, February 22, 1803:

Washington City Feby. 22 1803

SIR,

The War resolutions presented by Ross[15] have not yet been taken up by the Senate. Tomorrow is the day appointed for their discussion; but as there is no probability of their being adopted I doubt whether they will go into the consideration of them.

As our time for Legislating is short we are now greatly pressed with business. The consideration of our external connections, & the settlements with what are called the Georgia Claiments are the most interesting subjects to the whole community which have or will be acted upon this Session. We shall neither establish any new internal regulations, nor abolish any that exist.

I hope shortly to hear that the Port of New Orleans is opened, by orders from the Spanish Government, to our Commerce. But I may be mistaken. In fact we must not rest solely on the foundation of Treaty for so essential a privilege. We must either have a pledge, or possess the Territory on the shore all the way down the Mississippi; & I trust we shall before long have one or the other.

Do you think any encouragement would be given to a weekly paper to be published in the lower counties?[16]

You have doubtless observed the preparations for a festival in Connecticut. It will be very splendid, & numerously attended if the weather permit. The causes which they give for rejoicing are correct & are handsomely expressed. If we could do the like it would be well.

I am, Sir, Your Humbl Servt.

EBEN. ELMER

[*Addressed:*] David Moore[17] Esqr. / Bridgetown / West Jersey.

[*Franked:*] Free Eben. Elmer.

[15]Senator James Ross (1762-1847), of Pennsylvania.

[16]Two newspapers appeared at Bridgeton during the eighteenth century: the *Plain Dealer,* 1775-76, and the *Argus,* 1795-96. John Westcott, Jr., published *The Apollo, and Bridgetown Weekly Miscellany* in 1804; it was discontinued after twenty-six issues. See Clarence Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers* (Worcester, 1947), pp. 492-93.

[17]David Moore, an artillery officer in the Revolutionary War who fought at Brandywine and was wounded at Germantown.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

REFERENCE was made in this column lately to the lack of information on sources of visual materials on New Jersey history. The Photoduplication Service of the Library of Congress will sell contact prints or enlargement prints from negatives already made of prints, engravings, and illustration in the Library of Congress at prices ranging from thirty-five cents to $2.50. A second edition of the select list of these photographic negatives, published in 1955, includes numerous New Jersey subjects. Copies of this catalog, entitled *Pictorial Americana,* are available from the Photoduplication Service at twenty-five cents each. They are also available for reference use in United States Government depository libraries of which Newark Public is one.

The Madison-Chatham Adult School is offering a course beginning October 3 entitled "New Jersey—Our Industrial State." The course will include talks by representatives of nine business firms and exhibits.

REVIEWS

Dr. Munroe, who reviews John E. Pomfret's history of West Jersey, will be remembered as one of the lecturers at the New Jersey Historical Conference in Bridgeton last spring. He teaches history at the University of Delaware.

The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702: a History of the Origins of an American Colony. BY JOHN E. POMFRET. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. xii+298 pages.)

In the late eighteenth century the most predominantly Quaker of American colonies was the province of West New Jersey. It contained not only a greater proportion of Quakers but also older settlements by Quakers than did Pennsylvania. The settlements at Salem (1675) and Burlington (1677), however, did not long precede the foundation of Philadelphia, and the population of West Jersey did not grow with the rapidity of that of Pennsylvania. By 1702, when the Jerseys were reunited in one government under the crown, Philadelphia had become both the economic capital of the Delaware valley and the capital of American Quakerism, though the local yearly meeting alternated between Philadelphia and Burlington till 1764.

Dr. Pomfret's study begins with four introductory chapters on the history of the Delaware valley before West Jersey had any legal entity. The first European outpost in the valley, the Dutch trading post of Fort Nassau, was on the soil of West Jersey, near modern Gloucester, and though Dutch, Swedish, Finnish, and early English settlement was primarily concerned

with the western or non-Jersey bank of the Delaware, West Jersey was involved in all the changes of sovereignty that occurred. Dr. Pomfret in these chapters provides a clear restatement of the history of the valley rather than any new material.

His fresh research, however, becomes apparent when he concentrates on the English period. New Jersey itself, of course, came into being only in 1664, when the Duke of York granted it to his old associates, Berkeley and Carteret, and West New Jersey emerged as an entity in 1674, when Berkeley sold his half claim, to which tentative bounds were set by the quintipartite deed of 1676. The Quaker settlers who first came to Salem and Burlington found but a few Dutch, Swedes, and Finns sharing the land with the Indians; a Puritan group had settled on Salem River in the 1640's under the aegis of the Delaware Company of the New Haven Colony, but the settlers had soon moved away.

As the settlement of West Jersey proceeded, the tendency, Dr. Pomfret shows, was for newcomers to seek the rich bottom lands along the numerous creeks, avoiding both the marshes of the Delaware shore and the inland pine barrens that ran eastward to the bays and sand reefs on the Atlantic. It was because of this limitation on settlement in West Jersey that every colonizing nation poured greater numbers into the settlements on the western shore of the Delaware, where fast land was more abundant by the river and where the interior offered richer opportunities for both agriculture and trade.

The political history of West Jersey is a complicated tale. Edward Byllynge, Dr. Daniel Coxe, and a London company, the West New Jersey Society, in turn exercised proprietorial rights of government, but quarrels occurred continually among the proprietors themselves, and between them and the residents, until in 1702 the right of government was ceded to the crown and East and West Jersey were united under a royal governor. In the chapters devoted to these events, the central part of his book, Dr. Pomfret's knowledge is evident, but his style suffers and the reader is often lost in a maze of names, dates, and other details.

The style improves when the author breaks his narrative to generalize, to discuss social and economic life, or, and to this the last chapters are devoted, to discuss the religious groups of the province. The Quakers, of course, get the greatest space, with particular care being given to their organization and to the Keithian controversy which rent the Friendly society in the 1690's. However, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Swedish Lutherans are also given attention in this section which carries the story of religious developments decades beyond 1702.

The volume is attractive in appearance, is helpfully illustrated by John Worlidge's contemporary map, and contains a list of the original proprietors in an appendix.

This reader laments the lack of a bibliographical list or essay; brief discussions of the sources appear in some of the footnotes, but since the footnotes are not indexed they cannot easily be consulted.—John A. Munroe.

The History of Voting in New Jersey. A Study of the Development of Election Machinery, 1644-1911. By Richard P. McCormick. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953. xxii+228 pages.)

It is not inappropriate that a significant book on voting in our state should be noted in this election year. Dr. McCormick, in a brief space, has traced the development of election machinery from colonial days to 1911 when the present system (with later minor changes) was established. Basically, it is clear that practical considerations rather than political theory dominated procedures through the decades. The author endeavors to show the relationship of the democratic process (or its thwarting) and the legal machinery through which it operated. Factors as various as disputes between royal officials and the people, modern urbanization, North and South Jersey differences, the influx of foreign born, and the influence of Progressive reform sentiment are accounted for. Obviously this is more, and a harder task, than a recital of who and how many voted and in what way their votes were recorded. This volume represents a pioneer effort so far as New Jersey and the nation are concerned. Similar studies in other states would no doubt add much to our knowledge of the operation of the democratic concept.—Fred Shelley.

Time the Great Teacher: a History of One Hundred Years of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Trenton, 1855-1955. By Rachel M. Jarrold and Glenn E. Fromm. (Trenton, 1955. viii+178 pages.)

In a day of the general acceptance of the public school system as a cornerstone of American life it is hard to realize that professional training for teachers in New Jersey is but a century old. The need for many qualified teachers followed quickly the law requiring compulsory local taxation for elementary schools in 1846. New Jersey, observing the pattern espoused and practiced by Horace Mann and others, established a State Normal School in 1855. There was some uncertainty about the location of the school but Trenton was decided upon. In the school at Trenton hundreds of teachers for New Jersey schools were trained. Since 1937 the institution has been a recognized, degree-granting college.

The history of the college is well-written, relating as it does events of the institution to those of the state and nation and using letters, reminiscences, and contemporary accounts to lend credibility and life to the story. The illustrations (both drawings and photographs) are good, and there are references to source material and a nine-page list of faculty members

through the years. The book is a most satisfactory addition to the histories of New Jersey colleges. —Fred Shelley.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

The Moravian Contribution to the Town of Hope, New Jersey. (Hope: Hope Historical Society, 1955. 23 pages.)

New Jersey Family Index (1956 Edition). (Short Hills, N. J.: The New Jersey Genesis, 1956. 12 pages.) "A directory of surnames of families connected with New Jersey genealogy, together with their working family genealogists or persons seeking information concerning same." Includes also "a list of persons offering research services in the twenty one counties of New Jersey."

100th Annual Meeting, New Jersey Press Association, June 28-July 1, 1956. (39 pages.) Program, illustrations, brief history of the Association, and list of present membership.

Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911: History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). By Ralph W. and Muriel E. Hidy. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. xxx, 842 pages.) The first of a two-volume study.

Rededication of the Courthouse, County of Morris, New Jersey, 1956. By Albert O. Halse. (Morristown, 1956. 36 pages.) Illustrations, program, historical accounts and other information about the new wing of the courthouse and about Morris County.

St. John's Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey, Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Historical Brochure, 1706-1956. Edited By Theodore L. Mayhew. (Elizabeth, 1956. 70 pages.)

PERIODICALS

A masthead of question marks proclaims that the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society in Ridge Wood is looking for a name for its bulletin, whose February 1956 issue is Volume 2, Number 1.

Effective layout marks a four-page magazine in offset printing published by the Historical Society of Gloucester City, and called *The Point.* Numbers three and four of Volume I, January and February 1956, contain brief articles on local history and notes on meetings of the Society.

The *Information Bulletin* of the Library of Congress, January 30, 1956 (pp. 45-46) records the receipt of a gift of the papers of T. DeWitt Talmage (1832-1902), "one of America's most celebrated 19th century preachers," the son of a Gatesville, N.J., tollgate keeper, who was minister of the Belleville Reformed Church, 1856-1859. The 2480 pieces include correspondence, scrapbooks, diaries and notes, and about 300 sermons, "rich in anecdotal material, containing many references to people and matters of contemporary interest."

The *Information Bulletin* for March 19, 1956, tells of the presentation to the Library of Congress of five manuscript letters from the period of the American Revolution by His Excellency, John A. Costel-

lo, prime minister of Ireland. Written from Philadelphia and from Staten Island by the Irish soldier, politician, and wit, Richard Fitzpatrick, while serving in the British army, they describe the retreat through the Jerseys and the subsequent engagements in which Fitzgerald took part.

The *Journal* of the Rutgers University Library reports important acquisitions in Jerseyana. The Joseph S. Frelinghuysen Papers throw light on the New Jersey political and business scene from 1905 to 1948. The Bernardus La Grange papers include deeds and surveys dating from 1686 and Loyalist papers, 1783-90. Early records of nine New Jersey churches have been microfilmed; positives are available to other libraries.

In October, 1955, a new an unusual magazine made its debut in Fairlawn, New Jersey, under the title *Essential Books*. The publisher is Essential Books, Inc., a subsidiary of the Oxford University Press, Inc., which produces in this country books of British origin. The magazine, published five times a year, is to announce and describe concisely and factually books of interest to scholars, libraries, the various professions and other readers with serious interests. A number of books of New Jersey interest have already been reported in its pages.

Specializing in the publications of American university presses and other scholarly institutions, *Essential Books* offers a timely service by listing, for the most part, books published within the thirty days preceding and the thirty days following publication of each issue.

PERIODICALS: HISTORY

"American Prisoners of War in New York: a Report by Elias Boudinot," edited by David L. Sterling, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1956, pp. 376-93.

"Franz Schneeweiss: a '48er in New Brunswick," by F. Gunther Eyck, in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library,* June 1956, pp. 37-48.

"Governor Livingston and the 'Sunshine Patriots,'" by Thomas P. Robinson and Lawrence H. Leder, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1956, pp. 394-97.

"History of Seceders' Church of Acquackanonk," by Clayton Hoagland, in *de Halve Maen,* July 1956, p. 7.

"Pittsburgh's Church of the Ascension," by James D. Van Trump, in *The Charette,* June 1956, pp. 14-16, 29. William Halsey Wood as church architect.

"The Pure Food Issue: a Republican Dilemma, 1906-1912," by Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., in *American Historical Review,* April 1956, pp. 550-73. President Taft and the case of Dr. Henry Rusby, Newark chemist.

"Washington on Staten Island," by Dr. Vernon Hampton, in *Staten Island Historian,* Oct.-Dec. 1950, pp. 30-32. Traditions of the De Hart and Post families on Staten Island and in New Jersey corroborate Dr. Haughout's findings.

"When Motion Pictures Were Young," in *Relics,* April 1956, p. 2.

"When Washington Visited Staten Island," by Lefferd M. A. Haughwout, in *Staten Island Historian,*

July-Sept. 1950, pp. 17, 20, 22. Historians differ on whether Washington ever crossed from New Jersey to Staten Island on a reconnoitering trip.

"Yard's Popular with Midcity Shoppers since 1856," by Karl G. Hastedt, *Trenton Magazine,* May 1956, pp. 4, 5, 27-29. As centennial year is celebrated, store president Hano attributes success to loyal employees and quality goods.

"Yesteryear in New Jersey—Snowed Under, or the Blizzard of '88 Drifts out of the Past," in *New Jersey Business,* March, 1956, pp. 10, 11.

"You Are Entering Madison, the Rose City," by Clyde Sharkey, in *New Jersey Bell,* June 1956, pp. 2-8.

PERIODICALS: BIOGRAPHY

"Men behind the Giants: Three Great Essex Banks . . . ," by Virginia Williams in *Suburban Life,* Sept. 1956, pp. 28-32. About Roy F. Duke, Robert G. Cowan, and W. Paul Stillman.

"The Myth of Anna Zenger," by Vincent Buranelli, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1956 pp. 157-68. Defends the thesis that James Alexander, not Anna Zenger, was editor of the *New York Weekly Journal.*

"Stephen Crane's Letters to Ripley Hitchcock," by R. W. Stallman, in *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, July 1956, pp. 319-32.

"Stephen Crane's Primrose Path," by R. W. Stallman, in *New Republic,* September 19, 1955, pp. 17-18.

"Stephen Crane's Revisions of *Maggie: a Girl of the Streets,*" by R. W. Stallman, in *American Literature,* XXVI (1955), 528-36.

"The Training of Woodrow Wilson," by John A. Garraty, in *American Heritage,* August 1956, pp. 24-27, 94.

"Walt Whitman, Politician," by Stanley J. Idzerda, in *New York History,* April 1956, pp. 171-84.

"Woodrow Wilson and Public Administration," by Louis Brownlow, in *Public Administration Review,* Spring Issue, 1956, pp. 77-81.

PERIODICALS: GENEALOGY

"Cape May County Gravestones," by Donald A. Sinclair, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/Oct. 1953, pp. 49-53.

"Ephraim Smith Family Record," by Samuel S. Smith, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./April 1954, pp. 22-24.

"Essex County Gravestones: the Old Newark Burying Ground," by E. A. Baldwin and R. W. Cook, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./April 1954, pp. 13-21.

"The Germans in Colonial New Jersey," by Hubert G. Schmidt, in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1956, pp. 103, 104-09.

"The Grumman Family of Bedfordhire, England, Connecticut, and New Jersey," by John I. Coddington, in *American Genealogist,* July 1956, pp. 160-79.

"Index to Liber C (1740-1752), Essex County Court Minutes," by William Y. Pryor, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,*

July/Oct. 1953, pp. 95-96; Jan./April 1954, pp. 41-42. Continuation.

"Jonathan Dayton, 1760-1824, Patriot & Statesman, and Founder of Dayton, Ohio," in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1956, p. 113.

"Mercer County Gravestones: New Sharon Methodist Churchyard, Washington Township," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./April 1954, p. 43.

"The New Providence, Union County, New Jersey, Presbyterian Church Cemetery Records from 1746 to 1941, in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1956, p. 113.

"Passaic County Gravestones," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/Oct. 1953, pp. 57-63.

"Price-Pearce Bible Records," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/Oct. 1953, pp. 54-56.

"Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Cranbury," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/Oct. 1953, pp. 84-94; Jan./April 1954, pp. 25-40. Continuation.

"Records of the Kingston Presbyterian Church," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/Oct. 1953, pp. 64-83; Jan./April 1954, pp. 44-48. Continuation.

"The Van der Lindes in Colonial America," by George E. McCracken and George O. Zabriskie, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./April 1954, pp. 1-12.

PERIODICALS: INDUSTRY

"How the Railroads Came to the Port of New York . . . Lehigh Valley," in *Via Port of New York,* August 1956, pp. 18-19.

"The Sandy Hook Pilots," in *Via Port of New York,* August 1956, pp. 3-6.

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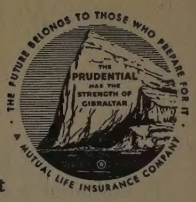
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AIR POWER